

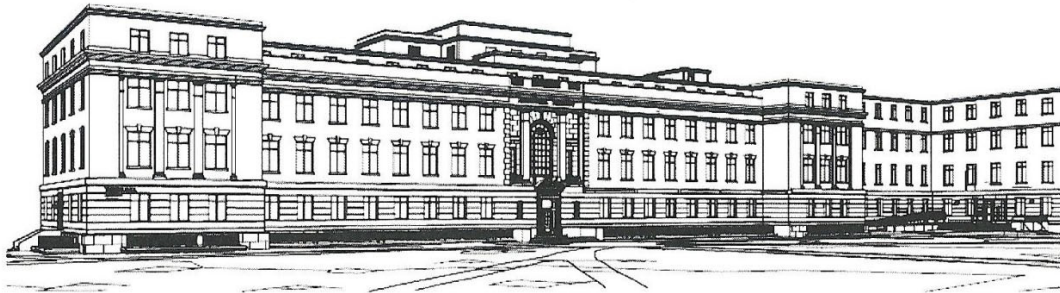
A Century of Scholarship and Service:

100 Years of Rural and Development Sociology at Cornell



By Julie N. Zimmerman

Dr. and Mrs. C. Milton Coughenour Professor of Rural Sociology
Historian, Rural Sociological Society
University of Kentucky



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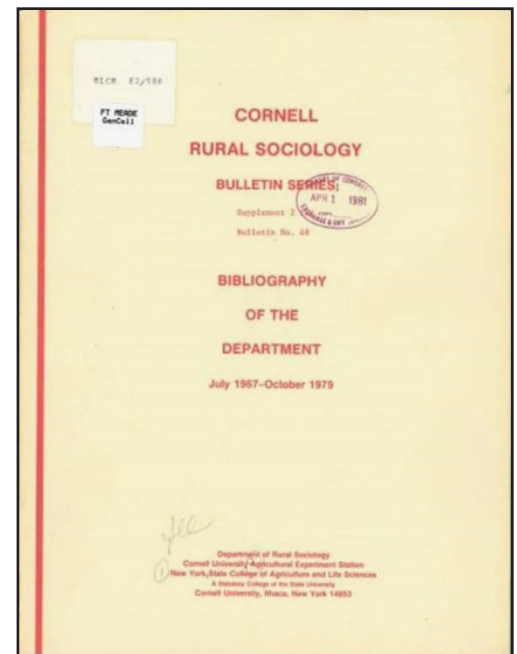
At the Department's 50-year mark, Olaf Larson examined its first five decades (1968a). Following that came Eugene Erickson's histories written in the 1980s (e.g. 1981, 1987), Paul Eberts' extended interview with Olaf Larson in 2005 (Eberts 2005), another with Gene Erickson in 2012, and Gene's interview with Frank Young in 2015 (Young and Erickson 2015). Following in these formidable footsteps has been inspiring. While I briefly revisit some of the Department's first half-century, the focus herein has been on the major events and overall trends in the Department's second 50 years.

To capture as much of the Department's wide-ranging history as possible, I used a multitude of resources in conducting this research. These included the Department's archives at the Cornell Library's Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, historical and contemporary institutional documents, individual faculty vitae, and even websites and online platforms such as YouTube. Each of these provided important information and insights into the Department's history.

In addition to its prior histories, to understand the Department I drew on Department bibliographies (Anderson 1956; Larson and Cunnings 1967; Larson and Cunnings 1979), as well as strategic planning and Department review materials (e.g. Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]). The Department's tradition of maintaining a list of PhD and Master's students with their degree conferral dates and contact information greatly facilitated identifying graduate students. Throughout the chapters, graduate student degree conferral dates are indicated within parentheses.



The Department's holiday letters were a particularly rich resource (e.g. Dept. of Rural Sociology 1978). For many years, the Department had an annual tradition of doing long holiday letters, which included individual notes from faculty and staff. Often 30 pages long, these letters contained rich details, including references to both family events as well as professional activities that might not show up on a vita. At times, the letters would include colloquialisms internal to the Department's culture at the time but forgotten in the intervening years. While the long letters were replaced with summary letters written by the Department chair, they remained a critical source for important events and accomplishments in the Department (e.g. D. Brown 1996).



For the College, I drew on administrative records and publications. When it came to tracking down the employment dates for the 63 faculty who served in the Department's second 50 years, for instance, the CALS *Annual Reports* were invaluable (e.g. NYS College of Agriculture 1966). Other College reports included *World Agriculture: Our Challenge* (CALS 1966) and the strategic plan *Knowledge with Public Purpose in a Changing World* (CALS 2014). Histories of the College included Gould Colman's *Education & Agriculture: A History of*

the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University (1963), Larry Zuidema's history of international programs at Cornell (2013), and Bernard Stanton's history of the Department of Agricultural Economics (2001). Periodical publications in the College also provided information and context on faculty activities over the years (<https://cals.cornell.edu/news/periodicals/>).

University-level resources included administrative documents such as the minutes from the Cornell Board of Trustees (<https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/23361>) and those from the University Faculty governing body (<https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/22426>). Both *Cornell Announcements* (<https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/34899>) and *Courses of Study* (<https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/38202>) contained graduate and undergraduate courses and student life information. Unique to Cornell University were the Faculty Memorial Statements (<https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/17838>) which provided invaluable information on faculty who had passed. Altschuler and Kramnick's history of Cornell (2014) gave context to many events affecting those on campus, as did the many different Cornell newspapers and magazines, such as *The Cornell Countryman* (<https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/22071>), *Cornell Alumni News* (<https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/3158>), as well as the *Cornell Daily Sun* (<http://cornellsun.com/> and <http://cdsun.library.cornell.edu/>) and the *Cornell Chronicle* (<http://www.news.cornell.edu/archive> and <https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/5328>).

The life and history of the Department not only exists within its larger institution, but also within its representative disciplines and sub-disciplines. Consequently, in addition to resources at Cornell, I searched professional association websites and publications for news items, obituaries, job transitions, important grants, and dissertation announcements – to name a few. To trace scholarly works, I examined journals such as *Rural Sociology*, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, *International Migration Review*, and *Journal of Development Studies*, as well as reviews of books written by Department faculty. Reports and publications on significant changes and trends within the different subareas that Department members were publishing also helped to situate faculty scholarship.

Unlike earlier eras, today's historical documents are not confined to dusty archives. Online digitized resources have increased access to a wide range of resources. Many of the Cornell resources, for instance, were accessible through Cornell's digital repository eCommons (<https://ecommons.cornell.edu>). Mann Library's Core Historical Literature of Agriculture (<http://chla.library.cornell.edu/>) was extremely useful for both College documents and as disciplinary publications in rural sociology. In addition to these, I drew on other online archival resources including Hathi Trust Digital Library (<https://www.hathitrust.org>), Archive Grid (<https://beta.worldcat.org/archivegrid/>), ERIC - Education Resources Information Center (<http://eric.ed.gov/>), and Internet Archive (<https://archive.org/>). Local daily or weekly newspapers were invaluable for tracking down Extension work in communities. These were accessed online, with older papers coming from the NY Historical Newspapers website (<http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/>) and Fulton History: Old New York State Historical Newspapers (<http://www.fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>).¹

Adding to these resources, Cindy Twardokus and Susan Barry Smith searched Department files and provided copies of documents essential to understanding aspects of the Department's past, as well as its current life. Graduate student Sara Keene visited the Department archives and was in contact as she and fellow PhD student Emme Edmunds encountered new resources during their preparations for the centennial celebration. Additional documents were provided by Olaf Larson. Department Chair Philip McMichael provided financial support for this research. Sarah Day prepared the integrated manuscript. David Brown and Mary Kritz provided invaluable insights that led to a much more inclusive history. A special word of thanks must go to David Brown, who reviewed and edited an earlier version of the manuscript. His inside knowledge gave a great deal of additional details, especially for the 2000 and Beyond chapter. Needless to say, this account of the Department's history would have been incomplete had I not had the help of all these individuals.

1 Digitized resources may increase access, but they also have their pitfalls. While search engines can produce a long list of "hits," finding what you are looking for only happens by examining each "hit" individually.

Even with all of these resources and assistance, in every departmental history there will be some aspects, some people, and/or some events that have been either overlooked or given too little space. In this case, as is likely immediately evident, the later decades contain much more detail than the earlier ones. Any number of issues feed into inadvertent omissions, including the amount of time and space available, as well as the degree to which different eras left an historical record that could be located. Moreover, in conducting this research, some aspects were easier to uncover than others. In contrast to work published in academic outlets, some Department activities became visible only through newspaper accounts or by locating fugitive or grey literature. In the quest to recover a sense of the breadth of work conducted in the Department, for every productive lead, there were also many blind alleys that led nowhere, as copies of a piece of work could not be located.

Another issue lay in deciphering the context surrounding any particular project or publication. While the tradition of creating bibliographies of Department publications (Anderson 1956; Larson and Cunnings 1967; Larson and Cunnings 1979) were invaluable, it was only through additional research that a publication's importance became clear. Bernice Scott's publications, for instance, indicated a great deal of work and collaboration with 4-H, but the details only became clear by reading articles in local newspapers, such as *The Vestal News* or *The Rome Daily Sentinel*. Another example was during the 1960s when leadership development in 4-H and rural sociology came together (CALS 1966:61). Evidence of this was found in a "News Note" entry published in *Rural Sociology*, which stated that Sam Leadley had written "a semi-monthly letter entitled 'Leadership Development with Sam Leadley for agents'" (McCann 1967:132-133). Without examining local newspapers or announcements in *Rural Sociology*'s "News Notes" section, this information would have been lost. Factors and issues such as these invariably influence the ability to adequately cover and recover all elements of any department's history.

In the end, this history references more than 1,100 different books, journal articles, and other publications; more than 200 news and media articles; and it contains over 350 photos and images. While special attention was paid to representing the entire Department, any omissions in this history are unintended and every effort was made to conduct as comprehensive and inclusive a survey of the Department's past as possible. Just as some elements were missing from Olaf Larson's first 50-year essay (1968), so too will future generations find elements missing in this one. And, as always, hindsight brings new meaning to prior trends and chapters in any history.

At the close of the Department's first half-century, Olaf Larson wrote: "It is not my purpose here ... to attempt an evaluation of the work of the department over these years of change. Continuities and discontinuities are evident. Promising starts that never developed and some missed opportunities may be detected. With new insights, new skills, and new opportunities, new programs and new projects are now underway or are being charted. In these we cannot completely escape, even if we would, the influence of tradition" (1968:13). The same should be said of this history. May it capture the essence and some of the major changes in the Department's lifespan, and may it chart at least some of the landscape on which its ensuing years are built.



Julie N. Zimmerman (Cornell PhD 1997)
Dr. and Mrs. C. Milton Coughenour Professor of Rural Sociology
Historian, Rural Sociological Society
University of Kentucky

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Introduction

At the close of the first half-century of Rural Sociology at Cornell, the Department had grown from offering 5 courses, a total enrollment of 52 students, and the equivalent of one full-time instructor, to offering 17 courses with 1,017 students enrolled (Larson 1968:7). When the newly “fully organized undergraduate specialization” began, there were more than 40 undergraduate majors and 82 students coming from 31 different counties beyond the United States (Larson 1968:7). The first graduate degrees were awarded in 1922 and 1923. Of the 233 awarded during its first 50 years, 107 were PhD degrees (Larson 1968:8). At the Department’s halfway mark, Olaf F. Larson was Department chair and Frank Young had recently been hired. With that in hand, the Department stepped into its next half-century and the next chapter of the nation’s first Department of Rural Sociology began.

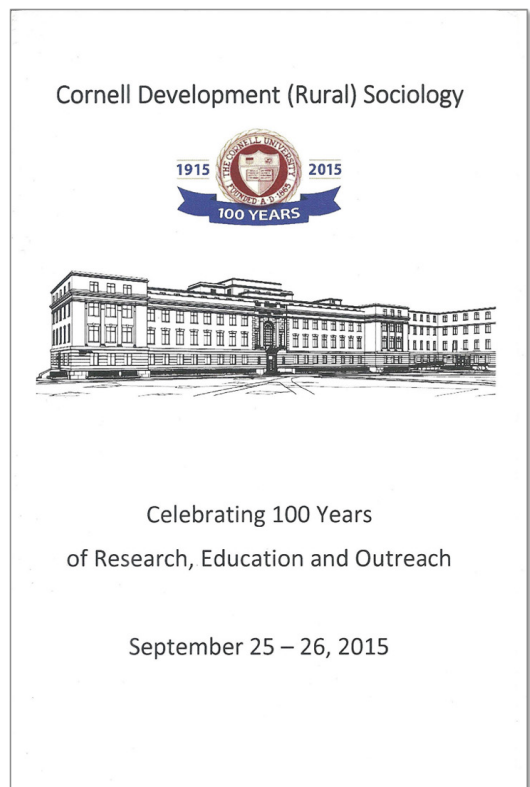
The coming years and decades would bring both continuities and many changes. The threads of some efforts can be traced back to the Department’s origins, while others would continue but take new forms. New facets and new areas would emerge, and new trends marked at its halfway point would come to influence the Department’s future directions.

Standing at that 50-year crossroad, few could have anticipated the emerging political activism of the incoming generation, the new theoretical approaches that would develop in sociology and development, the new directions and new opportunities that would be ushered in, and the energies that new faculty always (and continue) to bring. The growth of the Department’s international focus, helped along by an earlier grant from the Ford Foundation, was reinforced when Dean Charles Palm declared international work as the College’s 4th dimension alongside research, Extension, and instruction (Zuidema 2013:18). The international orientation was institutionalized in the Department when, in 1968, the graduate field was renamed “Development Sociology.”² The movement of demography from the Sociology Department in the late 1980s brought new faculty, new resources, and a more research-based approach to the Department’s long held work in applied population. Establishing the Community and Rural [Regional] Development Institute (CaRDI) in 1990 helped coordinate state-based outreach on community and economic development, and provided a mechanism to increase the visibility of research and Extension in this area.

Many of the changes that came during the Department’s second 50 years were reflected when it changed its name for the second time in its 100-year history. The Department was originally called the “Department of Rural Social Organization.” A. R. Mann’s professorship had this name in his title as did the Department. It was also the name preferred by the unit’s first chair, Dwight Sanderson (G. Coleman 1963:444).³

2 At Cornell University, PhD study is governed by “graduate fields” which extend beyond individual departments.

3 Mann was appointed Professor of Rural Social Organization. However, reports of his upcoming sabbatical to study at the University of Chicago also referred to Mann’s position and his area of study as “rural sociology.” As for Sanderson, the name change to rural sociology occurred 4 years before he retired in 1943. Just prior to his retirement, Sanderson published the textbook *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization* in which he specified the conceptual difference between the two (Sanderson 1942). He passed away two years later ([Dept of Rural Sociology] nd).



Having held the name for its first twenty years, in 1939, the first name change came when “Rural Social Organization” was replaced with “Rural Sociology.”⁴

In 2003, the Department changed its name for the second time – moving from the “Department of Rural Sociology” to the “Department of Development Sociology.” The change brought the Department’s name in line with its PhD program. Most of the faculty felt that much of that addressed within “rural” could be encompassed within “development,” but not necessarily vice versa. Hence, since the Department’s programs were shaped and motivated by development-related concepts, for most, the new name seemed appropriate. It was also more popular with undergraduate students, many of whom aspired to careers in development.

Approach and Organization

Any number of considerations come into play when researching and writing a department history.⁵ A starting place was the equivalent of conducting a literature review – examining how other department histories have been written. Two sociological literatures also informed this research: collective memory and the history of sociology. In differing ways, each of these played a role in the many decisions that were made along the way.

When it comes to writing a department history, there are as many ways to do it as there are departments (Baird 1997; Best [1959]; Bradford 1969; G. Colman 1986; L. Coleman 1986; Hallberg 1998; [no author] 1988; Larson 1968; Stanton 2001; Wileden 1979; Wimberley 2009; University of Wisconsin Rural Sociology 1983). In reviewing other department’s histories, some were organizational while others traced intellectual trends. Some histories used department chairs to divide the past into eras. For others, organizational changes were used to signal major turning points. Some structured their narratives using the missions of teaching, research, and outreach and/or Extension. Still others focused almost exclusively on research.

Just as the structure varied, so too did the level of detail. For some, themes were broad and overarching, while others contained a great deal of detail. Most departmental histories were written internally, but this was not universal. In the case of this department’s history, even though its author is the Dr. and Mrs. C. Milton Coughenour Professor of Rural Sociology at the University of Kentucky, she earned her PhD in Development Sociology at Cornell nearly 20 years ago (PhD 1997), has published on the history of rural sociology (Zimmerman 2008, 2011, 2015b; Larson and Zimmerman 2003; Zimmerman and Larson 2010), and since 2009 has served as Historian for the Rural Sociological Society.⁶

One of the sociological literatures that informed this history is that of collective memory. To put it far too briefly, collective memory examines the social and constructed nature of memory (see Conway 2010; Jedlowski 2001; Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy 2011; Poole 2008; Zerubavel 1996).⁷ Maurice Halbwachs, who had been a student of Emile Durkheim, built on Durkheim’s concept of social representation, and moved the concept of memory from individuals to groups (Halbwachs 1992; Middleton and Brown 2011).

Halbwach’s work opened up the idea of memories to include social or collective aspects. Seen as a social product, collective memories could then be understood not as something that is just recalled by individuals, but as something which is socially constructed – both by individuals and by groups. Being socially constructed, factors such as the moment in time or the social location of those doing the remembering come into play.

4 Announcements at the time provided no explanation for the Department’s name change ([ASA] 1939:716; [RSS] 1939:379). Accompanying the new name, the announcement included Leonard S. Cottrell’s change in appointment from rural sociology to Professor of Sociology in the College of Arts and Sciences, as he moved to chair the new Department of Sociology and Anthropology ([ASA] 1939:716; [RSS] 1939:379; see also Foote 1985).

5 Much of what follows draws on the opening keynote address for the Department’s centennial celebration (Zimmerman 2015a).

6 Julie’s work on the history of rural sociology dates back to her time as a graduate student in the Department and her work with Olaf Larson. Even then, she was called upon by David Brown to work with Olaf in designing and producing a 6-case display on the Department to commemorate its 75th anniversary.

7 Some good overviews of collective memory include Conway (2010), Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy (2011), and Olick and Robbins (1998).

When viewed as a group product, collective memory can also be examined in relation to factors such as group identity formation, social movements, and the formation of larger public attitudes (e.g. Armstrong and Cragge 2006; Assmann and Czaplicka 1995; Griffin and Bollen 2009; Kubal and Becerra 2014).

A particularly interesting aspect of the collective memory literature has to do with problematizing the “collective” in collective memory. Because of its socially constructed nature, collective memory does not imply universal memory. Instead, collective memory considers not only the nature of its construction, but also the politics of memory. For example, Brian Conway (2003) studied the development and maintenance of alternative memories to contest elite or official memories, while Pierre Nora analyzed the multiple voices of the subaltern in the construction of national memory (1989). Examining what gets celebrated in public accounts and events, collective memory literature also considers socio-historical products such as commemorations or monuments (e.g. Conway 2010; Schwartz 1982, 1991, 1997; Schwartz and Bayma 1999).

No less important within the collective memory literature is that of forgetting. Asking questions not just about what is remembered and why, this literature examines what is forgotten and/or silenced in collective memory (e.g. Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger 2010; Stone and Hirst 2014). Paul Connerton, for instance, identified seven types of forgetting including “repressive erasure,” “forgetting as planned obsolescence,” and “forgetting as humiliated silence” (2008).

Another sociological literature that informed this department history is the history of sociology literature (HOS). This body of work raises important questions about who and which aspects are remembered within sociology’s history. Included (and in response to) the HOS literature are important works that seek to re-embed race, ethnicity, gender, and others within the discipline’s collective remembering. Following the edited volume *Diverse Histories* (Blasi 2005), for example, came those examining the inclusion of women, race, disability, and rurality (e.g. Gerschick and Stevens 2016; Jakubek and Wood 2018; Williams 2008; Zimmerman 2010, 2013), while others examined issues such as who is included or excluded from classical sociological theory (e.g. Gill 2013; McDonald 2019). Iconic in the area of women in sociology are works such as those by Mary Jo Deegan on the inclusion and exclusion of women from the canonical histories of American Sociology (e.g. 1981).

All of these literatures – previous department histories, collective memory, and the history of sociology – variously informed aspects of this department history. Together, they bring to the fore questions about how histories such as this can contribute to collective memory. Consequently, questions such as who gets remembered, what are the bases for remembering some but not other aspects or people, which and what types of memories are remembered, and which are forgotten, could not be ignored.

In writing this history, I sought to be as inclusive as possible. In addition to tenured and tenure-track faculty, I included others in the Department as much as possible. While records on support staff are limited, for example, I intentionally conducted online searches for any information and took note when staff were mentioned in places such as the Department’s holiday letters. While some department histories focused solely on research, I sought to include the full range of work that had been produced in the Department. Consequently, in addition to books and journal articles, I included pursuits directed at nonacademic audiences, such as work with local groups or congressional testimony. Cooperative Extension is another area that often gets overlooked in department histories and this too formed an important focus that needed to be represented.

With all of this in mind, this history of the Department of Development (Rural) Sociology at Cornell also follows an abbreviated version of a meso-historical (Lengermann and Neibrugge 2007) or “contextualist” approach to historical research. As Barbara Laslett aptly put it, larger social change does not just occur or simply emerge. Instead, it is “the result of concrete actions by real actors within historically specific situations” (Laslett 1991: 516). I was particularly inspired by Charles Camic’s work (1995) and sought to overcome the limitations of a strict internalist recounting by placing events internal to the Department within some form of a larger context – be it national or international events, broader social changes, institutional dynamics, or changes in

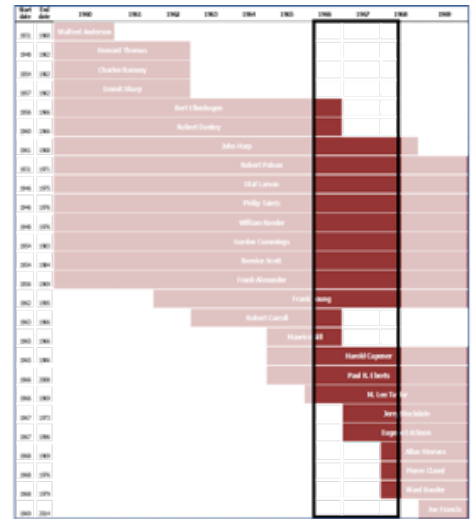
the professional/disciplinary environment.⁸

As for an organizational framework, I chose a “decades” approach. Using decades can illustrate generational shifts or identities and is one way to situate individuals within their larger contexts (e.g. Schuman and Scott 1989; Hazlett 1992; Kitch 2003; Kligler-Vilenchik, Tsfati, and Meyers 2014). Placing Department events within their respective decades helped to situate the Department in time and the various changes it experienced. In addition, each chapter begins by describing some of its key events and changes, offering readers a way to recall some of the essence of the particular decade.

While a decade’s framework provides an organizational framework, it is not intended to be an indication of sudden shifts in program or focus in the Department. Using decades for each chapter also doesn’t mean that each one is a self-contained unit. Events or projects that began in one decade but came to fruition in the next might not be covered until the second decade.

Several techniques were also used to help concretize elements of the Department’s second 50 years.⁹ For example, photographs, screen shots, and other images were included as much as possible. These were particularly helpful when it came to including individuals for whom official photographs did not exist.

Inspired by Andrew Abbott who wrote “underneath the periods at any given time lie quite divergent realities of cohort experience” (1995:486), I constructed Gantt charts for each decade and for the full 50 years detailing the employment dates of each of the 63 faculty who were in the Department during its second half century. These helped me in visualizing the progression within the Department of the comings and goings of individuals. The Gantt charts also show the confluence of different individuals’ biographies at different moments in their careers. In other words, at any one point in time, while some individuals were beginning their career, others were at their height, and still others were closing in on retirement. It was the confluence of these overlapping career stages that comprised each of the decades in the Department’s history.



Regardless of any organizational approach, it always needs to be acknowledged that collective memory is not universally held. Not only do different experiences of the same moment in time create different memories for different groups (Griffin 2004), but collective experiences can also be purposefully forgotten (Stone and Hirst 2014). Consequently, it should be noted that the events mentioned herein cannot be completely representative nor all-inclusive.

Conclusion

In writing this Department’s history, I continually wondered what future generations might think of it. Just as today’s moment in time influenced its writing, how will their moment in time affect their reading of it? Will this history cover elements that are still thought to be important? What new contexts will the next generations face? When they look back at the year this history was written, will being in a post 9-11 world still have the same meaning it does today? Will readers remember the national response to the deaths of Freddie Gray in Baltimore or Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, both at the hands of police? Will the role of social media in international events such as the Arab Spring still elicit the same sense of wonder? What will be the new

8 A situated methodology such as this is especially important in a digital age where computer search programs can produce long lists of de-contextualized “hits.” Using just one small example, a search of author names in the journal *Rural Sociology* included Eberts’ article “Rural Sociology’s Response to Extension – Suggestions for Action-Oriented Theory” (1969). However, without looking at the entire issue of the journal, it would never have been evident that his article was one of five that the editor had specifically invited to address current issues facing rural sociology at the time (Warner 1969).

9 Taking a contextualist approach, and including images such as photographs and screen shots, also helped me respond to David Brown’s admonition from the start when he said: “Don’t make it boring.”

Introduction

challenges facing universities and what will be the new developments in sociological and other disciplines? One can only guess at what events, yet to unfold, will influence the next generations and hold greater sway over their imaginations than those mentioned in these pages.

The First 50 Years

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Department Faculty at the 50th Anniversary



Department of Rural Sociology staff at Fiftieth Anniversary.
Front row, left to right: M.L. Sill, R.A. Polson, O.F. Larson, F.W. Young, B. Scott, R.L. Carroll.
Back row: W.W. Reeder, J. Lele, F. Taietz, B.L. Ellenbogen, J. Harp, S.M. Leadley, H.R. Capener, G.J. Cummings, F.D. Alexander.

Rural Sociology at Cornell

In 1965, Cornell's Department of Rural Sociology reached its 50th anniversary. Recognized as the first department of rural sociology in the United States, Cornell holds an enduring place in that history. As Department chair, Olaf Larson organized the 50th anniversary celebration, and wrote its accompanying historical essay (1968a). Twenty-five years later, he oversaw the recognition of its 75th anniversary in the 1990s and the construction of a 6-part display that filled all six display cases in the lobby of Mann Library. In March 2005, Paul Eberts had the foresight to interview Olaf about the Department (Eberts 2005), and in 2012 Gene Erickson did the same. Even at 105 years old in 2015, Olaf continued to share the breadth of his memories as the Department celebrated its 100th anniversary.¹⁰

Rather than recreate the wheel, below is a reprint of Olaf's essay on the Department's first fifty years at Cornell, written for the 50th Anniversary celebration held in 1968.

¹⁰ Olaf Larson passed away on November 14, 2017. He was 107 years old (D. Brown, Eloundou-Enyegue, and Zimmerman 2018; Zimmerman and Brown 2019).

Rural Sociology at Cornell, 1915-1965

Olaf F. Larson

Head, Department of Rural Sociology

We observe the 50th anniversary of rural sociology at Cornell. In doing so, we observe the 50th anniversary of what to the best of our knowledge is the first department of Rural Sociology at any institution anywhere.

Papers for Fiftieth Anniversary
of Rural Sociology at Cornell University
1915-1965

Department of Rural Sociology
New York State College of Agriculture
Ithaca, New York
September 1968

The tracing of social origins leads one on trails which become indistinct in the distant past and poses certain methodological difficulties for those who seek certainty. The case of rural sociology at Cornell, recent as it may be in the historical sense, is no exception. What we observe here today is marking the beginnings of a formal institutional structure at Cornell for the discipline and the profession.

It is historical fact that Albert R. Mann's appointment as professor of rural social organization took effect on May 1, 1915. Mann performed his duties in this new position only a few short months before taking leave for graduate study in sociology at the University of Chicago. Before he could resume his duties, he was asked to assume the deanship of the College of Agriculture at Cornell; this he did in 1916, although continuing to hold the professorship.

It is an historical fact that on October 1, 1918, the new Department of Rural Social Organization – which had been secured for Mann by Dean Galloway¹¹ – was formally launched with the appointment of E. Dwight Sanderson as professor and head.

We recognize, however, that the forces which resulted in these formal landmarks had been stirring in earlier years.

The Beginning Years of Science and Service

In a sense, the establishment of the new department was an outgrowth of the general impulses which were being generated in rural America and in the land-grant colleges. Liberty Hyde Bailey, as Director of the College of Agriculture, was highly influential both nationally and at Cornell in giving expression to the new interests and concerns which were stirring. He laid down guide lines for a dual focus on both science and service. Bailey's concern with the problems of rural life, his feeling of the need for fact-finding surveys, and his urging of a country-life movement are well-known.¹² In 1907, speaking of the work of the College, he stated, "Our problem lies with the people both here and yonder. If there is any man standing on the land, unattached, uncontrolled, who feels that he has a disadvantage and a problem, the College of Agriculture stands for that man."¹³ In his 1909 Farmers' Week address he made a special point of the need for the College to study the people themselves

11 Gould P. Colman, *Education and Agriculture: A History of the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1963, p. 319. <https://hdl.handle.net/1813/10733>

12 Olaf F. Larson, "Liberty Hyde Bailey's Impact on Rural Life," *Baileya*, VI (March 1958), pp. 10-21.

13 *Ibid.*

and the affairs whereby they live. He said, "The whole relation of the man and woman to the community in respect to social intercourse, schools, churches, societies, the broad influence of telephone and roads and machinery on rural life, the social results of immigration, the scheme of rural government, the policies of cooperation in a thousand ways, and, in short, the structure of rural society, constitute a special field of inquiry. This College of Agriculture has a modest beginning in this essential field, but the work is wholly inadequate to the needs of the state."¹⁴

By their acts and statements, both Mann and Sanderson demonstrated their continued concern with the scientific study of rural life and with the application of the research findings. In 1932 Sanderson commented that "The staff of the Department has been engaged in pioneer work in the exploration of methods for an exact and penetrating analysis of the organization of rural society."¹⁵ At the conclusion of Sanderson's professional career, Carl C. Taylor wrote, "It is my conviction that Dwight Sanderson was one of the most scientific sociologists of all time."¹⁶

While the department pioneers had a deep conviction of the necessity for scientific study of rural society, the pressures for application were also early, insistent, and continuous. In a memorandum to Dean Mann in 1920, Sanderson noted, "There is already an insistent demand that immediate assistance be given to rural communities in planning such enterprises as community buildings, church surveys, recreation programs, and community organization. This demand should be met without neglecting the more fundamental work of investigation. Without such a practical testing of the principles of rural social science so far tentatively stated, there can be no real proof of their validity, so that permanent advance in this field must always depend upon the opportunity for successful application of the principles advanced."¹⁷

Although 1915 is our formal landmark, we must note that the beginning of instruction in this field at Cornell goes back to the spring of 1905, when George N. Lauman, then instructor in rural economy, first gave a 2-hour course in rural sociology. This was reported to be one of two land-grant colleges which gave a course in the subject at that time.¹⁸ Dr. Lauman continued giving one or more courses until the organization of the present department.

The first extension work of the College in rural sociology consisted of training conferences for rural leaders in 1910 and 1911, developed by A. R. Mann, then secretary of the College.¹⁹ In the same years, the first state rural church conferences were held during Farmers' Week. Another illustration of these early beginnings is the "Report of the Commission on the Country Boy Leaving Home," issued in 1914 by the State Executive Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations; Mann appears as a member of the extension committee for this commission.

It is not my intent on this occasion to dwell upon these pioneers or their successors. Their individual stories are told in the archives of the College and University and elsewhere. Rather, my intent is to outline the record of the past 50 years.

Relationship to the Parent Discipline

An important part of this record is rural sociology's relationship to the parent discipline of sociology. It should be clear to all who look at the historical record that here at Cornell rural sociology has been viewed as one of

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Dwight Sanderson, "An Historical Account of the Department of Rural Social Organization of the New York State College of Agriculture, at Cornell University." Address given at cornerstone exercises of the agricultural economics building, May 23, 1932, p. 2. (Mimeographed.)

¹⁶ Carl C. Taylor, "Dwight Sanderson - Social Scientist," *Rural Sociology*, XI (March 1946), p. 14.

¹⁷ Dwight Sanderson, "Memorandum on Work of Department of Rural Social Organization," for Dean A. R. Mann, May 6, 1920. (In department files.)

¹⁸ Sanderson, "An Historical Account ...," p. 1.

¹⁹ Dwight Sanderson and staff, "Extension Work in the Department of Rural Sociology (Through 1945)," p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

the sociological specialties, necessarily intimately related to the parent discipline.

Almost from the first, Sanderson pushed for strengthening the work in general sociology in the University. Thus, in his annual report for 1919-20 he asked Dean Mann to "indicate the dependence of this department upon the fundamental work in sociology given in the Arts College in such a way as to further encourage development of that work." He added, "I trust that whenever the new president (who was to be Livingston Farrand) assumes his duties that it may be possible for you to call this matter to his attention." Again, in the 1929-30 report: "We are repeatedly faced with the fact that graduate students specializing in rural sociology are going to other institutions because, although they may desire to secure work in this department, they wish to secure other graduate work in general sociology, which is not available at this institution."

Finally, in 1939, in the administration of President Ezra Day, the Department of Sociology and Anthropology was established in the College of Arts and Sciences, and Dr. Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., was transferred from the Department of Rural Sociology to be chairman of the new department. The same year, 1939, marked the change in department name from Rural Social Organization to Rural Sociology.

This identity with the parent discipline was symbolized at the national level by Sanderson's election as president of the American Sociological Association in 1942. Two others closely identified with the department have also served as president of the American Sociological Association. Cottrell, who was department head from 1945 to 1948, served as president in 1950 after he left Cornell; and Robin M. Williams, Jr., who holds a courtesy appointment, was president for the year 1957.

Students and Courses

The first class offered in the department was in the spring of 1919. During the first year of full operation, 1919-1920, the 5 courses offered by the equivalent of one full-time instructor drew a total enrollment of 52. Last year (1963-1964), enrollment in the 17 courses offered and in directed study totaled 1,017.

The department soon became a major center for training graduate students. The first Ph.D. with a major in this field was awarded on September 23, 1922 to Ellis L. Kirkpatrick, whose dissertation subject was "The Standards of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming." The first Master's degree was awarded in 1923 to Cass W. Whitney, whose thesis topic was "The Play Activities of Rural Children in New York." Through February 1965, some 233 different individuals have received graduate degrees from Cornell with a major in rural sociology. Of these, 107 have received the Ph.D.

The undergraduate teaching program in the department has always served more students than just those in the College of Agriculture, and for a considerable part of its history was broader than rural sociology. For example, the Summary placed in the cornerstone of Warren Hall at its laying in May 1932 said, "At present the teaching of the Department embraces not only rural sociology, but general sociology, the family, and public welfare problems, for over half of the undergraduate students are from the College of Home Economics."

Mention of the need for better-trained rural social workers was made in Sanderson's first report, in 1919, to the dean on the work of the department. By the 1926-27 annual report, the recommendation was made that the possibility of offering a curriculum for the training of rural social workers should be considered. In 1939, two new courses in rural social work were added under a new instructor, with a view to gradually building up a curriculum for students preparing for this vocation. The recommendation was made that funds be sought to establish a 5-year curriculum leading to a Master's degree in social work. Eventually the department established, and continued until recently, a pre-professional social work curriculum which was participated in by students from throughout the university.

It was not until 1960, however, that what we would consider a fully organized undergraduate specialization in rural sociology was formally established. Between 40 and 50 undergraduates are currently enrolled in this specialization.

International Orientation

The international orientation of rural sociology at Cornell has a long history. In 1929 Hashem Amir Ali of India received the first Cornell Ph.D. in this field of study awarded to a graduate student from outside the United States; his thesis title has a contemporary ring: "Social Change in the Hyderabad State in India as Affected by the Influence of Western Culture." In the same year, Viktor Horvat, of Yugoslavia, received the first Master's degree awarded to a rural sociology major from another country. Altogether, 82 students originating in 31 countries other than the U.S. have received graduate degrees in rural sociology. This is a strong one-third of the total number.

This one-third originating outside the United States is by no means a full measure of the international orientation of the students in the department. I can identify perhaps 50 U.S.-born majors who have served abroad in professional roles for part or most of their careers since completing graduate work. Thus well over half of all those who have received graduate degrees to date represent some contribution from this department to the international area.

The 82 graduates from the 31 other lands include: 12 from India; 9 from Puerto Rico; 7 from the Philippines; 6 from Canada; 5 each from China and Thailand; 3 each from Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Pakistan; 2 each from Colombia, Greece, Indonesia, Iraq, and the Netherlands; and 1 each from Albania, Barbados, Brazil, British Guiana, Finland, Ghana, Iran, Mexico, Japan, Norway, Panama, South Africa, Syria, Taiwan, Turkey, and Yugoslavia.

Department faculty members, like the graduates, have been active in teaching, research, and consultation abroad. They have worked in countries around the globe while on special assignment or sabbatical leave. We note, for example, the work of W. A. Anderson on special assignment in Taiwan in 1950 to study the place of farmers' associations in the reconstruction of that country. His report was printed in Chinese and Japanese as well as English.

Added emphasis and support were given to these international interests in 1962, when Cornell received a major Ford Foundation grant to support work of the rural social sciences in the College of Agriculture in relation to international agricultural development. This grant brought two new professorships to rural sociology for concentrated work in international agricultural development, along with support for graduate assistants and research. This international orientation is one of the distinctive characteristics and strengths of the Cornell program in rural sociology.

The Department and the Science

The contributions of the department to developing the scientific discipline of sociology through empirical research, methodological innovations, and theoretical formulations are not easily summarized. Some monographic studies and some efforts at synthesis are represented in the 14 or so books written by members of the department staff and in the 12 or so additional books which they have edited or to which they have contributed. More typically, however, the contributions are found in the many professional journal articles and in the research publications of the College and the Department, all of which are listed in the department bibliography.²⁰ Research work under the Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station began in 1919. The first research publication was that of Dwight Sanderson and Warren S. Thompson: Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 422, "The Social Areas of Otsego County, New York," issued in 1923.

The second field of research dealt with the levels and standards of living of farm families; Kirkpatrick's work in Livingston County was the first comprehensive study of farm family living ever made. The results were also published in 1923 as Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 423. This first study led to other states' making a series of similar studies in cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture under Dr. Kirkpatrick's direction.

²⁰ Department of Rural Sociology Bulletin No. 48 and supplements.

Other studies that started in the early years included a study of the rural population of New York from 1855 to 1925, a study of the relation of the size of villages to the number and kind of service agencies which they maintain, and a study of sickness and medical services in farm homes.

As one reviews the list of projects and the resulting publications, one sees changes in emphasis over time and a wide range of substantive content, but some continuities are also apparent.

One stream of continuity is represented by the work centering around locality groups, service centers and service areas, and around the ecology and organization of communities. A second stream of continuity is represented by population studies. And, a third stream of continuity is represented by the purposeful study of social change.

Changing emphasis over time is illustrated by the attention given to the sociology of the family. The department started research on this subject in 1928, with a grant from the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial Fund. This resulted in the department's first bulletin, "The Sociology of the Family," issued in 1929. Then followed field studies by Robert G. Foster, Lemo T. Dennis, Howard W. Beers, Mildred Thurow, and others.

The early work in the sociology of health was discontinued, only to be picked up again at the end of the 1940's.

The Department's annual report for 1926-27 announced plans to make the first attempt at a systematic investigation of the social psychology of rural life to be conducted by a research institution. The initial results were the work on the sociology of leadership undertaken by Sanderson and Robert W. Nafe.

The more recent direction of attention to the problems of development in both low-income and modernized societies, the use of the group or social system as a unit of analysis with group-level variables, and study of the adjustment problems and process in rural areas under pressure of urban expansion are additional illustrations of changing emphasis over time. Lest we grow too smug about our new-found internationalism, however, we should note that a special report prepared in 1921 for the dean's use with a legislative committee stated, "That we may benefit by a better knowledge of the development of rural community life in previous ages and among other peoples, an extended investigation is being conducted of the nature and development of rural communities in foreign countries, among primitive agricultural peoples, and in ancient times."²¹

The Department and the Profession

The logical corollary of the pioneering position of the department in the discipline has been its contribution to the profession.

Sanderson helped to organize the Rural Sociology Section of the American Sociological Society in 1921 and was the first chairman of this sectional group. When, in 1937, the decision was made to organize the Rural Sociological Society as a separate scholarly society, Sanderson was elected its first president. Among those who followed him in this position have been three members of the department staff (W. A. Anderson, Robert A. Polson, and Olaf F. Larson) and six Cornell graduates (Howard W. Beers, 1951; Irwin T. Sanders, 1956; Harold Hoffsommer, 1959; M. E. John, 1961; Harold F. Kaufman, 1962; and A. Lee Coleman, 1965).

Both Mann, in his administrative role as College dean, and Sanderson did significant work in the early years on the major national committees planning for expansions or developments in rural sociological research, extension, or teaching. The work on one such committee (for the Social Science Research Council) resulted in a grant of \$30,000 a year for 5 years from one of the foundations to provide graduate fellowships in agricultural economics and rural sociology as a means of building up professional competence in these fields.

In numerous ways, members of the department staff have contributed to the work of the Rural Sociological Society, including editing of the professional journal "Rural Sociology" during the five-year period 1958-62.

²¹ The outcome was Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community*, Boston: Ginn and Company 1942.

More recently, staff members have contributed to the planning of the First World Congress of Rural Sociology (held in France in 1964) and to the beginning of an international organization of rural sociologists.

Application and Service

I have mentioned that work in this department has been characterized by a dualism: (1) scientific study of rural society and (2) the application of sociology to practical problems. The reasons for the department's origin, the institutional setting in which it has developed, and the convictions of the founders explain this persistence.

The department's extension work began with the appointment of Cass Ward Whitney as an extension instructor in 1920. The first extension publication was "Locating the Rural Community" (1920).

A prospectus of the plans for extension work which was issued to extension agents in 1921 outlined various educational activities in which the department was prepared to give assistance. Chief emphasis was placed on (1) locating and mapping rural communities as a basis of better community organization, (2) community singing, (3) amateur dramatics and pageantry, (4) organized play and recreation, (5) community buildings, and (6) rural library service promotion.

The content of the initial service program was far broader than the conventional bounds of sociological subject matter. The original department name, "Rural Social Organization," reflected a conviction that the social organization problems of rural society required a contribution of other subject-matter fields in addition to sociology. Thus, work in recreation and drama were seen as forming a significant part of the program, not only for the pleasure it was believed these activities would give in making country life more enjoyable but also because it was believed that if people became better acquainted through playing together they would be more likely to cooperate in other projects for community improvement. At one time the department administered a music lending library. It also developed a loan library of plays (now handled by the state library in Albany). The work in dramatics under the leadership of Mary Eva Duthie eventually resulted in the formation of the New York State Community Theatre Association.

The extension staff has been actively involved in assisting the people of the state with their practical problems of community organization and community services. Community planning, community centers, rural fire protection and prevention, rural libraries, and health services and facilities are among the problems given special attention at different times.

Assistance during the 1930's with efforts in the state to do rural planning were followed during the late 1940's by experiments in community development. More recently, the emphasis on adult education concerned with public affairs issues and with rural resource development are illustrative of extension efforts which increasingly call for basic sociological information and its interpretation.

During World War II, the department contributed to the Emergency Farm Labor Program by work concerned with the mobilization of farm labor, the management of farm labor camps, and employee-employer management problems. Robert A. Polson served as state supervisor of farm labor. An extension program related to migrant farm labor was continued until the late 1950's.

The training of citizen and professional leadership has been one of the continuing themes in the rural sociology extension program. This is represented not only by training in discussion, recreation, and music leadership skills but also by training for group leadership. Beginning in 1953, a major effort was made to improve the county extension agents' understanding and appreciation of leadership by holding state-wide conferences and other training sessions. The department has also been of service to special groups through institutes, conferences, and training schools. The first such program was as far back as 1919 in a cooperative activity with the Red Cross. Among the similar activities which followed were:

- A 2-week short course for rural ministers, conducted annually from 1924 until 1943.
- A 1-week school for Grange masters and lecturers, conducted annually for a number of years, beginning in 1925.
- The College Short Course for Foreign Missionaries, which started in 1929 at the department's recommendation.
- The Community Theatre Conference, held at Cornell annually from 1946 to 1960.
- The annual Public Welfare Institute for County Commissioners, for caseworkers, and for casework supervisors; held 1946-1958 under the department's auspices.
- The Institute of Nursing-Home Proprietors, held annually beginning in 1953 until transferred in 1959 to other sponsorship.

Numerous early illustrations of the application of research findings may be recounted. One of the most notable was the use made of Sanderson's studies of rural locality groups by the regents inquiry in New York State in 1935-1936. This study influenced the basis for central school organization. Such use was a logical sequel in the education area to the results of a rural school survey of 1920 made available to the New York State "Committee of Twenty-one".²² The pioneering rural health study in the early 1920's in Cortland County was one of the first two in the nation to give the facts of the amount and cost of sickness in rural communities. The evidence was used by the National Committee on the Cost of Medical Care.²³

In service as in science, the department's influence has extended beyond state lines. Both Mann and Sanderson, for instance, were influential in the establishment of the American Country Life Association. During 1933, Sanderson went to Washington to organize the rural part of the Social Research Division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and he was instrumental in working out a system of cooperative research in rural social welfare problems between the states and the federal government.²⁴

The department's record in the application of sociology is an early and continuing demonstration of linking sociology to the practicing professions and to "real" world problems.

Sidelights

The first year for which a full budget appears in the department files is 1921-22. That year there were 2 professors, an instructor, a graduate assistant, and 2 secretaries. The cost of the whole operation, salaries and all, was \$14,115. A department head came at \$4500, a graduate assistant at \$750, and a stenographer at \$780 or \$900. After salaries were paid, \$1535 was left for all maintenance and operation, including research costs.

The files of correspondence also reveal some of the major problems - for example, problems of space, which were first relieved by moving into the new Warren Hall in 1932 and were later provided for in the new wing of Warren in 1952. In a 1926 piece of correspondence we find that the purchase of a needed typewriter was the occasion of serious negotiation with the College administration, fortunately resolved promptly and favorably by the Experiment Station director.

Summary

The record for the past fifty years has now been written. The first decade and a half of that history was coincident with World War I and the postwar depression in agriculture. The next decade was a period of general depression and acute social problems. The following decade was marked by an even more widespread world war. During the past decade and a half the impact of social changes on rural society and rural-urban inter-relationships has been unprecedented both in the United States and around the world.

22 Colman, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

23 Department of Rural Social Organization annual report to the dean for 1927-28, p. 18. (In department files.)

24 W. A. Anderson, "Dwight Sanderson, Rural Social Builder," *Rural Sociology*, XI (March 1946), p. 13.

The First 50 Years

It is not my purpose here, nor is it appropriate, to attempt an evaluation of the department's work over these years of change. Continuities and discontinuities are evident. Promising starts that never developed and some missed opportunities may be detected. With new insights, new skills, and new opportunities, new programs and new projects are now under way or are being charted. In these we cannot completely escape, even if we would, the influences of tradition.

Through these fifty years the history of this department shows a clear sense of dedication; may this continue.



Olaf F. Larson in 2016
(106 years of age)

More on Olaf Larson and his career can be found in Zimmerman (2013), "A Rural Sociologist for Almost Eight Decades: Olaf F. Larson." http://www.asanet.org/footnotes/nov13/emeritus_1113.html

The Rest of the Story

For many years, Paul Harvey hosted a radio program called “The Rest of the Story.” Begun as a segment of his newscasts during WWII, the program focused on well-known stories but added some aspect that was not known – thereby giving the show its name.

At the 50-year mark, Department chair Olaf Larson organized a recognition and celebration and authored an essay depicting the Department’s first 5 decades (1968) which would be referenced for years to come (e.g. Erickson [1989]). But no history is ever entirely finished. Hindsight, knowledge of what came after, better access to archival resources, and new approaches and interests often reveal aspects and details not previously examined.

With this in mind, two aspects of the Department’s first 50 years warrant a second look. The first complements the Department’s early history by adding details surrounding its genesis and early beginnings. The second completes the story of the first woman to hold a leadership position in the Rural Sociological Society, and one of the few women in the Department’s early years to hold a sustained professional role. So, in the spirit of Paul Harvey, here is ... “the rest of the story.”

Albert R. Mann

While the Department at Cornell began with A. R. Mann’s appointment as the first professor of rural social organization and Dwight Sanderson as the first Department head, we often leave out the institutional supports or climate that made change possible, or at least helped “grease the wheels” so-to-speak.

Previous histories of the Department at Cornell have rightfully emphasized the role of Dwight Sanderson as the first chair. His distinguished role in rural sociology is in part exemplified by his many leadership positions – elected the first chair of the American Sociological Association’s (ASA) Rural Section, the first president of the Rural Sociological Society, president of the American Country Life Association, and later, one of only a handful of rural sociologists to be elected president of the ASA. But as Sanderson worked to build his Department from the inside, the unit’s early years are also attributable to the unique administrative support and climate sustained by Dean Albert R. Mann.

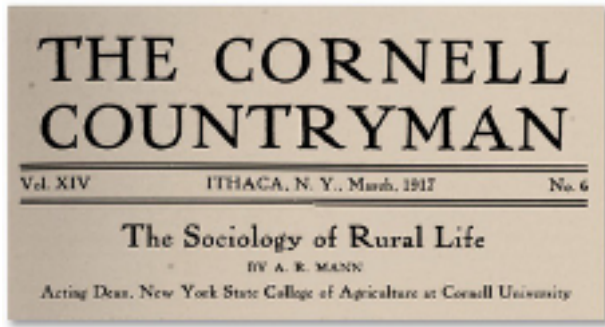


Albert R. Mann

Cornell College of Agriculture Dean Beverly T. Galloway named Mann the first professor of Rural Social Organization in 1915. Shortly thereafter, Mann took a sabbatical to study sociology at the University of Chicago – the first Department of Sociology in the U.S. Following Liberty Hyde Bailey as Dean would be no small feat for anyone, but Galloway’s tenure was particularly tumultuous (Coleman 1963:258-259). Upon hearing that Galloway would be leaving, Mann requested of Galloway that he formally establish a Department for him (Coleman 1963:319).

Before his sabbatical could even be completed, Mann was called on to become the College’s acting dean. However, Mann moved so quickly to serve as Acting Dean that replacing himself as a professor of rural social organization was not guaranteed. And, while a budget existed on paper, no other individuals had yet been hired. Just as it had started, so too could the department have disappeared.

Not long after returning from the University of Chicago, Mann composed a front page article for *The Cornell Countryman* titled “The Sociology of Rural Life” (“The Sociology” 1917). In it, he laid out the rationale underly-



ing the importance of rural sociology and the social aspects of agriculture: “We hear it said that the end for which we are working in agriculture is to make farming more productive and more profitable. When we have attained that end, however, we have reached only a way station...” (“The Sociology” 1917:459). Reflecting the narrative of the time, Mann continued: “The present widespread interest in rural conditions grew out of the discovery that certain conditions were not as satisfactory as they ought to be and that they were capable of being improved” (“The Sociology” 1917:461).

Throughout his article, Mann laid out how rural sociology was needed as a complement to education in agricultural production. He wrote:

“Most of our agricultural teaching is an application of the physical and natural sciences to the practical problems of the farm. In this newer field of thought having to do with social and economic conditions, we find the application of the no less important social sciences to the affairs of the farmer.... The study of this vast field has scarcely yet been entered upon and its conquests lie ahead of us” (“The Sociology” 1917:461).

In the same issue of *The Cornell Countryman*, the newspaper editors responded to Mann’s article. In it, they agreed whole heartedly, writing:

“Whoever fails to read Dean Mann’s article ... misses one of the best things that *The Countryman* has carried for a good long time ... We hope that the plans for a Department of Rural Sociology here at Cornell will soon materialize. It will fill a great need....” (“Editorials” 1917:485).

Not long after his article in *The Countryman*, Mann secured the services of Dwight Sanderson – whom he had likely met while studying sociology at the University of Chicago – to head the new Department.

In his history of the College, Gould Colman described Albert Mann as being forthright and an administrator with integrity. He had a “marvelous sense of timing,” and he “awaited for the opportune moment” (1963:326-327). One instance of Mann’s success that included the Department came in the early years of his deanship.

In 1919, Mann took advantage of an opportunity created by a legislative request to prepare a comprehensive plan by organizing committees and conferences on the College’s role within the state. Reporting the results and the subsequent recommendations from the public groups, Mann not only demonstrated widespread support in the state for rural social science within the College, but he also emphasized the need for rural sociology in his subsequent report as Dean to the Cornell Board of Trustees (Board of Trustees 1920).

In a special section titled “The Social Phase of Country Life,” Mann wrote: “It is becoming increasingly apparent that the problems of agriculture are not solely those of the techniques of production and distribution.” Having laid out the importance of social aspects of rural life to agriculture, Mann described the work of the young Department:

“The chief effort of the Department of Rural Social Organization in the College at the present time is to give some fundamental training in the social problems of rural communities to undergraduate students, very many of whom will go into positions of leadership where they can educate public opinion to the importance of these problems and can arouse interest which will result in community progress.... Because of its pioneer work in the Country Life Movement, Cornell University is expected to take a place in this new field, and it is hoped that strong courses will be developed for graduate students seeking to fit themselves into these positions” (Board of Trustees 1920).

In 1922, the Department awarded its first PhD to Ellis Lore [E. L.] Kirkpatrick, and the next year awarded its first Master's degree to Cass Ward Whitney. Through Mann's efforts, and support provided by NYS Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, funds were secured in 1930 to build Warren Hall specifically to house the Departments of Agricultural Economics and of Rural Sociology. The year the building was dedicated, Mann had become Cornell's first Provost.

Mary Eva Duthie

The role of women in the history of professions and in sociology has traditionally been overlooked (e.g. Deegan 1981). But, just as the Department went on to graduate the second woman to be president of the Rural Sociological Society (Cornelia Flora in 1998-99), it was also home for the first woman to hold a leadership position in that same professional organization – Mary Eva Duthie (Willits et al. 1988). When the Department celebrated its 50th anniversary in 1965, Mary Eva Duthie had already retired. But her story, however briefly put, is one that needs to be told.

Hired in 1924 as an Extension Instructor, Duthie was the third woman to be hired into the Department in a professional role, and she remained with the Department until her retirement. Before her, Esther Strickland was hired into an Extension role to focus on recreation. Strickland joined the same time as Ralph Felton, whose Extension work was in community organization. Josephine Strode was hired only a few years before Duthie as an instructor for rural social work. Mary Eva Duthie's work was focused on drama and theatre.



Mary Eva Duthie

In many ways, Duthie's career followed and mirrored some of the larger trends in rural sociology Extension. As work moved from country life and rural satisfaction to community development and leadership, Duthie demonstrated how participating in theatre provided a mechanism for communities to come together for a common goal and contributed to building local leadership skills. In 1937, Duthie received a PhD in rural sociology from the University of Wisconsin. In 1946, the same year that Extension was dropped from faculty titles at Cornell (Colman 1963:495), she was promoted to Associate Professor of rural sociology (Larson, Reeder, and Polson [nd]).

In 1937, the Rural Sociological Society (RSS) became the national professional organization for rural sociology. In the next year, Mary Eva Duthie became the first woman to hold a leadership position in RSS by chairing the Society's Extension Committee. It would be a decade before another woman was appointed (or elected) to a leadership position in the Society (Willits et al. 1988:127).

In recognition for Mary Eva Duthie's years of commitment and work, the Theatre Association of New York State (TANYS) created an award named in her honor. As stated on the TANYS website:

"This award honors Mary Eva Duthie, the guiding spirit behind the founding of the New York State Community Theatre Association in 1946. It is given to an individual or organization in the State who has made significant contributions to community and or academic theatre" (TANYS [2015]).

In 1969, in addition to its annual recipient, the Theatre Association of New York State also presented a special award recognizing the Department. Today, the award is nicknamed the "Duthie Award" http://www.tanys.org/Duthie_Award.html (TANYS 2015).

And now you know ... the rest of the story.

The First 50 Years



The Next 50 Years:

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Department Faculty (1965–2015)

Department Faculty by Decade (1965–2015)

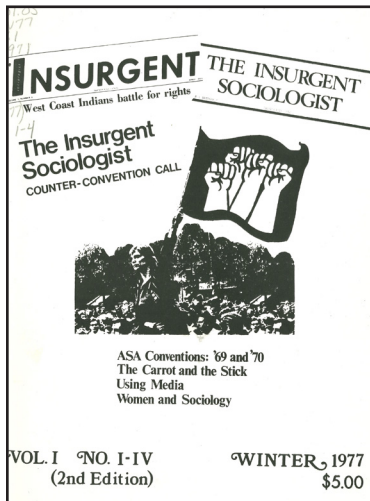
Person	Start Date	End Date	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s	Present (2015)
Walford Anderson	1931	1960							
Howard Thomas	1948	1962							
Charles Ramsey	1954	1962							
Emmit Sharp	1957	1962							
Bert Ellenbogen	1956	1966							
Frank Alexander	1956	1969							
Robert Danley	1960	1966							
Robert Carroll	1963	1966							
Maurice Sill	1965	1966							
John Harp	1961	1968							
M. Lee Taylor	1966	1969							
Allan Steeves	1968	1969							
Robert Polson	1931	1971							
Olaf Larson	1946	1975							
Philip Tietz	1946	1976							
William Reeder	1948	1976							
Jerry Stockdale	1967	1973							
Pierre Clavel	1968	1976							
Ward Bauder	1968	1979							
Gordon Cummings	1954	1983							
Bernice Scott	1954	1984							
Harold Capener	1965	1986							
Frank Young	1962	1995							
Eugene Erickson	1967	1996							
Paul Eberts	1966	2008							
Joe Francis	1969	2014							
Chuck Geisler	1979	2014							
John M. Cohen	1974	1978							
Dan Moore	1972	1977							
Jim Converse	1971	1977							
Andrew Milnor	1974	1977							
Michael K. Miller	1977	1978							
Milt Barnett	1973	1985							
Patricia Garrett	1979	1986							
Jim Preston	1974	1987							
Walt Coward	1973	1991							
Fred Buttel	1978	1992							
James Zuiches	1982	1986							
Mark Lancelle	1983	1986							
Dudley Poston	1988	1992							
Joe Stycos	1987	2000							
Tom Lyson	1987	2006							
Doug Gurak	1989	2015							
Shelley Feldman	1984	Present							
Tom Hirschl	1986	Present							
David Brown	1987	Present							
Phil McMichael	1988	Present							
William Lacy	1994	1998							
Paul Gellert	1997	2006							
Mary Kritz*	1990	2014							
Max Pfeffer	1993	Present							
Lindy Williams	1993	Present							
Nina Glasgow*	1992	Present							
Ronald Mize	2004	2012							
Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue	2000	Present							
Angela Gonzales	2002	Present							
Fouad Makki	2006	Present							
Alaka Basu	2007	Present							
Wendy Welford	2010	Present							
John Sipple	2011	Present							
Rachel Bezner Kerr	2012	Present							
Lori Leonard	2014	Present							
Scott Peters	2015	Present							

* = Began as a faculty appointment

Does not include courtesy appointments or visiting appointments such as Odd Grande, Galia Tagumpay Castillo, Minnie Brown, Ed Moe, etc.

The 1960s

In 1965, when the Department of Rural Sociology at Cornell reached its 50th anniversary, the U.S. had already seen the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962), the assassination of John F. Kennedy (1963), and landmark social legislation, including the Civil Rights Act (1964) and the Voting Rights Act (1965). A lot more was to come during the decade's last 5 years. Events yet to unfold included the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr., and Robert Kennedy (1969), the Detroit riots (1967), and the Tet Offensive in Vietnam (1968).



Within the American Sociological Association (ASA), students were finding a new kind of voice – especially following the tumultuous 1967 conference when rural sociologist Charles P. Loomis was President. The conflict surrounded a resolution on Vietnam and was a major event in ASA history (C. Brown 1970; Etzioni 1968; [no author] 1967a:271; 1967b:223). In 1969, students began publishing *The Insurgent Sociologist* and “gave notice to the academy writ large, and the sociology profession in particular, that a new era had begun, a challenge to orthodoxy had emerged, that would call into question business as usual within academe” (Fasensfest 2014:3).¹ The next year, the Sociology Liberation Movement formed and conflict with the ASA Executive Council continued (C. Brown 1970). Rounds of letters and editorials, with titles like “Sell-out Sociology” (Molotch 1969) and “Who will Liberate the Sociology Liberation Movement” (Robbins 1969) in *The American Sociologist*, reflected some of the voices of the time.

The latter years of the 1960s at Cornell were also marked by change, upheaval, and turmoil. Student demonstrations were happening at multiple campuses nationwide – sometimes with violent responses from police, such as those at Columbia University, the University of Wisconsin, and in California. Issues at the forefront included anti-Vietnam protests, civil rights, the women’s movement, and the draft. For Cornell, many of the decade’s events culminated in the takeover of Willard Straight Hall, which garnered national attention and earned Associated Press photographer Steven Starr the 1970 Pulitzer Prize in Spot/Breaking News Photography (Downs 1999; Kofi Acree 2015; “40 Years Ago” 2009; “A Campus Takeover” 2009; “Snapshot in History” 2009; “Students Took Over” 2014).² Re-counting the decade in his history of Agricultural Economics at Cornell, Bernard Stanton noted that the events in other parts of campus during the 1960s did filter onto the Ag Quad.



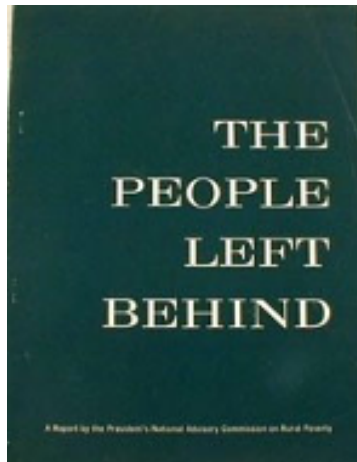
“Warren Hall and the department lived through this time of trouble without incident. Demonstrations were held by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) on the quadrangle outside the building, but classes

- 1 The publication began as the newsletter of the Union of Radical Sociologists and the Sociology Liberation Movement, and not long after was run by the Oregon Collective. In 1988, *The Insurgent Sociologist* became *Critical Sociology* but retained its volume numbering from the previous publication ([no author] 1988). For more on the journal, see Fasensfest (2014).
- 2 In some ways, Cornell’s 7th President James Perkins had tried to be ahead of the curve. Through his Committee on Special Educational Projects (COSEP), the number of African American students at Cornell went from fewer than 20 to 250 by 1968 (“Students Took Over” 2014). But, as those who reflected back noted, Cornell was “ill-prepared to address the needs of black students on campus during the 60s” (“Students Took Over” 2014).

went on as usual except for the few days when the university was in recess. We all learned some things about ourselves in those weeks of turmoil, but were finally the stronger and wiser from the peaceful resolution of a difficult period in the life of the university” (Stanton 2001:180).³

Active in the Decade

For the Department, not only were students active in the decade, faculty were as well. When the Cornell Faculty Council considered a free speech resolution in response to the events on campus, Olaf Larson was a member. During the discussion on May 12, 1965, concerning the resolution, Larson responded that “it was essential to preserve the freedom to hear and to be heard” (University Faculty 1964-67:3165).⁴

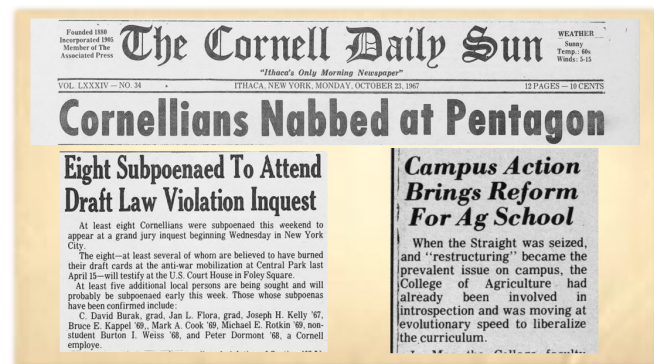


After J.F.K.'s assassination in 1963, Lyndon B. Johnson took office and ushered in the Great Society and War on Poverty programs and legislation. In 1966, Johnson commissioned a National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty to assess rural poverty in the United States. Thomas Ford, one of the commission's members, was a rural sociologist and soon to be president of the Rural Sociological Society (in 1972-1973). The Commission published its report, *The People Left Behind*, informing the nation that poverty was not solely an urban problem (Breathitt 1967).

Another report containing the background papers the Commission had used in its assessment was also published (Wilber and

Bishop 1968). Included was a chapter on migrant agricultural workers that was written by Olaf Larson (1968a).⁵ Also during this time, another Department faculty member, William Reeder, was appointed to the Advisory Committee on Education in Appalachia. The commission contained both appointees and members of the Appalachian Commission (ARC) (McCann 1967a:387). Their purpose was to evaluate and provide recommendations to the ARC about education in the region.

Department faculty were also active addressing current issues in the state. *The Geneva Times* newspaper, for instance, reported on Harold Capener's visit to explain the newly passed Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) (“Wayne



- 3 Altschuler and Kramnick recount how a rural sociology graduate student and leader of the SDS was part of a group who interrupted the investiture of the new University president (2014:110)
- 4 Life on campus was not like it is today. In the General Announcements for 1963-64, while undergraduate men were encouraged to live in the dorms or fraternity houses, women undergraduates were required to live on campus (Cornell University 1962:41-42). Even though the requirement was lifted in 1965 (Altschuler and Kramnick 2014:123), in his 1967 annual report, Dean Palm wrote a special section on “Women Students.” Referring to the limited number of dorms available for women Dean Palm wrote: “Quota restrictions on student numbers mean that applications from women cannot be processed on the usual basis of high school qualities, achievement test scores, and related criteria, consequently a fair number of clearly acceptable women students must be denied admission” (NYS College of Agriculture 1967:11). As for cars and parking, while the University could see that there could be important reasons to have a car, “The University does not encourage student use of automobiles” (Cornell University 1962:49). If a student did have a car, they were not allowed to park on campus “from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday, or from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. Saturdays” (Cornell University 1962:58).
- 5 While the phrase “The People Left Behind” continues to resonate even today, for reviews contemporary to their publication, see for example Peterson (1969), McPherson (1968), and Kaufman (1968).

County Meeting” 1965:10). The EOA legislation was a key part of Johnson’s War on Poverty. Some of its major components included Job Corps, VISTA, Community Action Agencies, and programs to combat rural poverty.

Publishing in the Department

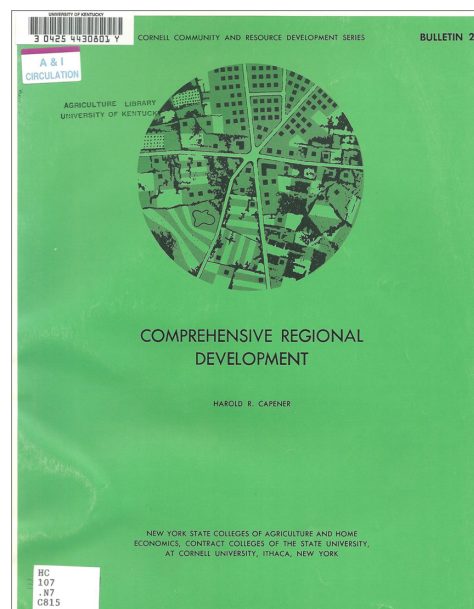
Publications produced by the Department ranged from books and peer-reviewed journal articles to those issued by the College or the Department. Academic journals included *Rural Sociology*, *Sociologia Ruralis*, *Social Problems*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Journal of Farm Economics*, and *Economic Development and Cultural Change*. Articles reflected the wide range of work being conducted from Paul Ebert’s “Rural Sociology’s Response to Extension – Suggestions for Action-Oriented Theory” (1969) – which was one of 5 that the editor had invited to address current issues facing rural sociology (Warner 1969) – to John Harp and Phil Taietz’s (1966) “Academic Integrity and Social Structure: A Study of Cheating Among College Students,” which was subsequently reprinted two times. Faculty and students also collaborated on publications, such as Frank Young’s and Isao Fujimoto’s (PhD 2010) “Social Differentiation in Latin American Communities” (1965).



Publications issued by the College or Department were another place where Department work could be found. Bernice M. Scott, for example, authored “Recreation for Meetings” (Scott 1960). In 1963, having been a graduate assistant in the Department, Samuel Leadley joined the Department’s Extension staff and worked in leadership development with 4-H (McCann 1967b:132). He produced “a semi-monthly letter entitled ‘Leadership Development with Sam Leadley for Agents’ ” (McCann 1967a:133). Faculty also published in community-related areas. John Harp and Gordon J. Cummings, for instance, examined the characteristics of 602 discussion groups in “Discussion Groups and Public Affairs Education: An Analysis of Group Survival” (1968).

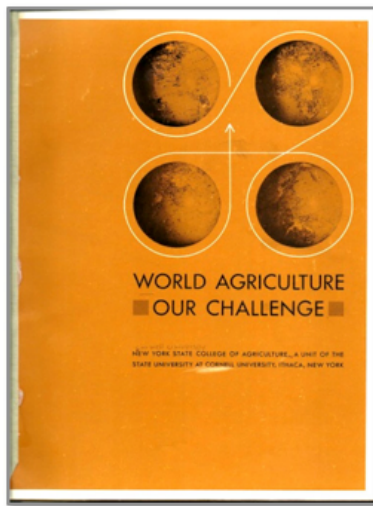
In 1969, the Department published the *Regional Development Studies* series with 9 issues (Larson and Cunnings 1979:14). The series included Department faculty such as Pierre Clavel, William W. Reeder, Paul R. Eberts, and Harold R. Capener. Authors from outside the Department were also included. With James Preston as the project supervisor (Hahn 1970:i), “Organization for Development: The MIDNY Experience: 1966-68” was written by a collaborating faculty member in the College of Human Ecology. The report described the pilot project “funded by the U.S. Department of Agriculture for three years ... to explore ways in which Cooperative Extension could improve its effectiveness under urbanizing situations” (Hahn 1969:14).

MIDNY was one of several multi-county efforts that developed during the decade (NYS College of Agriculture 1967:53) and reflected efforts in the area called “Community Resource Development” (NYS College of Agriculture 1969:62-53). The final report of the Department’s *Regional Development Studies* series was titled “Alternative Organizational Models for District Development” by Pierre Clavel, Harold R. Capener, and Barclay G. Jones (1969; Larson and Cunnings 1979:26). About the same time that the Regional Development Studies series was wrapping up, Capener also published “Comprehensive Regional Development” as the second Bulletin in the newly established Cornell Community and Resource Development Series (Capener [1967]).



International Work

In addition to work within the United States, the Department was also engaged internationally. As Larson pointed out, the Department had long been involved in international work and he called its “international orientation ... one of the distinctive characteristics and strengths” (1968a:8-9).⁶



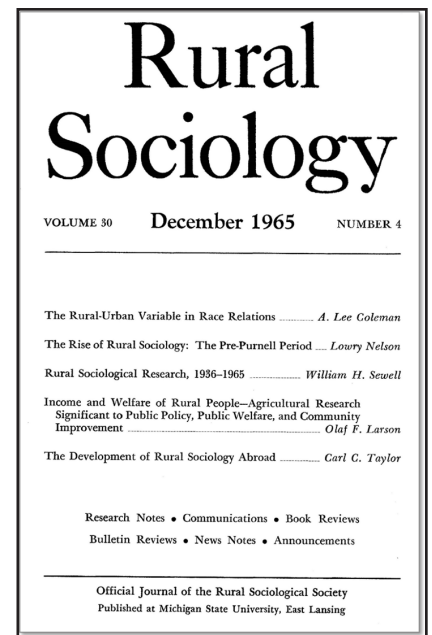
While international work had begun to grow following the Second World War, for the field of rural sociology, the decade of the Sixties was seeing a shift. Following the move of New Deal rural sociologists into international work, a new group was beginning to appear (Rogers 1960; C. Taylor 1965).⁷ The work of people like T. Lynn Smith, Carl C. Taylor and Lowry Nelson “were followed in the 1950s and 1960s by A. O. Haller, Eugene Wilkening, Frederick Fliegel, Everett Rogers, Harold Capener, Thomas Ford, Eugene Havens, Frank and Ruth Young, John Saunders, and many others” (Flinn 1980:32).

Even before the College received its large grant from the Ford Foundation in 1962, College Dean Charles Palm was already gearing up for an enhanced international focus. In 1960, Dean Palm asked departments to “study the problems of training students for international agricultural development” (Zuidema 2013:12). Soon after, Palm established a committee to develop recommendations on the college’s role in agricultural development internationally (Zuide-

ma 2013:13-14). Both Olaf Larson and Bob Polson were members. In 1963, the College released the publication *World Agriculture: Our Challenge* (NYS College of Agriculture [1963]). Dean Palm began referring to International Agricultural Development as the College’s “4th dimension,” alongside research, extension, and instruction (Zuidema 2013:18).⁸

Rural Sociology was one of three departments at Cornell that received support through the Ford Foundation grant which was designed to “support work of the rural social sciences in the College of Agriculture” (Larson 1968b:9). A group of College faculty prepared the proposal for the \$3.25 million grant “to the Center for International Studies” (Zuidema 2013:11, 13) to “expand international research and teaching at Cornell in the rural social sciences” (Stanton 2001:160).

The grant brought new resources primarily in the form of faculty lines to the departments of Agricultural Economics, Rural Sociology, and in Rural Education (Stanton 2001:160; Zuidema 16-17).⁹ For Rural Sociology, the Department wanted to emphasize “developing comparative studies and to



⁶ In his history of IP-CALS, Zuidema includes a photo from the first annual banquet of the International Agriculture Society held in 1922. In addition to Dean Albert Mann, included in attendance was Dwight Sanderson, the first head of the Dept. of Rural Sociology (named at that time the Department of Rural Social Organization) (Zuidema 2013:5).

⁷ Flinn described the early movement: “The outbreak of World War II brought into focus the relationship between the United States and Latin and South America. This induced the recruitment of rural sociologists by the Department of Agriculture’s Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations for studying Latin and South America, and a new era began in rural sociology” (Flinn 1980:32). Reflecting their engagement at the time, the acknowledgments of a 1949 FAO publication on rural welfare included rural sociologists Edmund deS. Brunner, Doug Ensminger, Irwin T. Sanders, and Carl C. Taylor (FAO 1949:iv).

⁸ As the “4th dimension,” the Director of International Agricultural Development was listed alongside the Directors of the Experiment Station, of Extension, and of Resident Instruction in the College annual reports (e.g. NYS College of Agriculture 1966).

⁹ To ensure their longevity, funding for the faculty positions included state funds which was accomplished in 1966 (NYS College of Agriculture 1966:10). That same year, the college received a second Ford Foundation grant to focus on Latin America (NYS College of Agriculture 1966:11).

studies of the modernization process and its consequences in both high-income and newly developing countries” ([Dept. of Rural Sociology] [1963]:7).¹⁰

Funding from the Ford Foundation made it possible to hire a new faculty member (Frank Young) and provided for Bob Polson to transfer his line to the new monies (Zuidema 2013:16). The grant also included funding for up to 4 graduate assistantships in Rural Sociology ([Dept. of Rural Sociology] [1963]:7). As Ruth Young acknowledged in her article in *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, it also provided summer support for graduate research (Young and Moreno 1965:439). In 1967, in cooperation with the Center for International Studies, the Department announced its new Comparative Modernization Research Methods Project (McCann 1968:118). The project was “intended to promote comparative research based on available data,” with Frank Young as the project coordinator (McCann 1968:118).

International work conducted by faculty included journal articles such as “Social Characteristics of Agricultural Innovators in Two Punjabi Villages in West Pakistan” (Chaudhari, Erickson, and Bajwa 1967) and “The Differentiation of Family Structure in Rural Mexico” (Young 1968). Frank Young was awarded a National Science Foundation (NSF) grant “for a study of inter-village systems in 20 countries” (Copp 1964:458), and another grant from the NSF to “support research on the properties and determinants of community growth using a sample of communities in south-western Puerto Rico (McCann 1966:410).

The “News Notes” section in *Rural Sociology* tells of faculty work across the world, including that in Puerto Rico (Charles Ramsey), Europe (Philip Tietz), Brazil (Bert Ellenbogen), the Philippines (Robert Polson), Jamaica (Frank Alexander), and Italy (Olaf Larson). The summer before the Department reached its 50th year, William Reeder was put in charge of “training in community development for Peace Corps trainees at Cornell,” and Bob Polson served as a “consultant for the Cornell-Philippines project at Los Baños” (Copp 1965:122).

Cornell rural sociologists also participated in the “Committee for International Cooperation in Rural Sociology,” which had been jointly formed by the Rural Sociological Society and the European Society for Rural Sociology. Both Bob Polson and Olaf Larson were early members (Loftin 1963:213). The Committee organized the First World Congress for Rural Sociology in 1964. The next Committee put together the Second World Congress in 1968, and the work led to forming the International Rural Sociological Association in the 1990s (Fuguitt and Bertrand 1999).

As international work grew, interest had also turned to training rural sociologists for international teaching, research and practice. “News Notes” of *Rural Sociology* announced the start of a research effort to study the “quantitative and qualitative training of international rural sociologists” (McCann 1968:118), which included both William Reeder and M. Lee Taylor from the Department. Before the results were published in one of the Cornell International Agricultural Development Bulletins (Taylor, Reeder, and Mangalam 1970), at the closing session of the Second World Congress for Rural Sociology, Lee Taylor spoke about the importance of international training (L. Taylor 1968).¹¹

Dissertations and theses produced by students in the Department further revealed the breadth of the Department’s international work. Some sense of this can be seen in the 43 theses and dissertations that were announced in *Rural Sociology*’s “News Notes” sections. Of these, international work was the focus for 20 of them.



10 It was “because of the complementarity between this program and Cornell’s outstanding area studies programs in South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Latin America, field work will be concentrated on these regions” (Stanton 2001:160).

11 More on Reeder’s recommendations can be found in Schuler (1969).

Graduate Education

It seemed to have gone without much public recognition at the time, but an important change happened for the Department's graduate program. In the late 1960s, during Olaf Larson's sabbatical leave, the graduate field changed its name from Rural Sociology (Cornell University 1965:88) to Development Sociology (Cornell University 1968:93).¹² Nevertheless, in the Graduate School Announcements for the 1969-1970 school year, rural sociology remained an option within Development Sociology, despite the field's name change.

DEVELOPMENT SOCIOLOGY

Faculty: Frank D. Alexander, Ward W. Bauder, Harold R. Capener, Gordon J. Cummings, Paul R. Eberts, Eugene C. Erickson, Allan G. Feldt, William H. Friedland, Henry A. Landsberger, Olaf F. Larson, Robert A. Polson, William W. Reeder, Allan D. Steeves, Jerry D. Stockdale, Philip Taietz, M. Lee Taylor, William F. Whyte, Robin M. Williams, Jr., Frank W. Young.

Field Representative: Eugene C. Erickson, Warren Hall.

MAJOR AND MINOR SUBJECTS

Development Sociology
Organization Behavior and Social Action
Rural Sociology
Methods of Social Research (minor subject only)
Occupational Sociology (minor subject only)

Rural Sociology (Ag.)

Faculty: F. D. Alexander, H. R. Capener, R. L. Carroll, G. J. Cummings, B. L. Ellenbogen, J. Harp, O. F. Larson, J. W. Longest, R. A. Polson, W. W. Reeder, P. Taietz, R. M. Williams, Jr., F. W. Young.

Field Representative: John Harp, 234 Warren Hall.

APPROVED MAJOR AND MINOR SUBJECTS

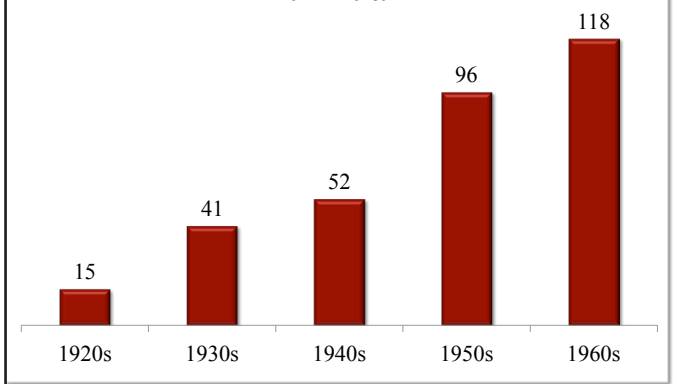
Methods in Social Research 3, 4 Rural Sociology 1, 2, 4
Organization Methods and Community Development 2, 3, 4

All American and Canadian applicants are requested to submit the scores of the Graduate Record Examination Aptitude Test with their other credentials.

Changing the name for the graduate field paralleled one of the discussions going on in rural sociology writ large. Of the several issues being raised in the late 1960s, one in particular related to international work. Concerned about the future of rural sociology – given the continuing declining numbers in agriculture and in rural areas in the U.S. – for some, one answer to this quandary was that internationally, rural areas and rural populations still predominated, and so would provide an ongoing source for rural sociology to study (Haller and Borgata 1968).¹³

Also framing the decade was the relationship between sociology and rural sociology. While Stan Albrecht remembered the 1960s as the time when some scholars began to question whether rural sociology was “real” sociology (Albrecht 1983), Edmund deS. Brunner shared that this had been a concern for some time, as he described an encounter that happened during his time as chair of the ASA Rural Section in 1932 (Brunner 1969).¹⁴ Critiques of rural sociology led some to emphasize its uniqueness as an applied sociology. The Department's own Lee Taylor concluded that “rural sociology is strongest where it is administratively closest to colleges of agriculture” (L. Taylor 1967:204). Two graduate students in the Department (Peter Weldon PhD 1968 and Donald Voth PhD 1969) countered Taylor's article and, among other critiques, called for stronger relationships with the discipline of sociology (Weldon and Voth 1967).¹⁵

**Total Number of Graduate Degrees Awarded
1922-1969**



- 12 No announcement of the change could be located in the professional journals of sociology or rural sociology. The only announcement in *Rural Sociology* that was similar was that the University of Wisconsin, also a recipient of a Ford Foundation grant, was adding the option of studying the Sociology of Development to its graduate program (McCann 1967a:383).
- 13 Questions concerning the transferability of a domestic sociology to other nations were also being addressed (e.g. Marsh 1962).
- 14 Haller and Borgata responded to the question in their article in *The American Sociologist* (1968). As Albrecht also reflected, “My response to this is that while ‘real’ sociologists may be able to do what rural sociologists do without being so labeled, the important work that is being done by rural sociologists would probably not be done if there wasn't a sub-discipline which focused specifically on doing this work” (1983:145). For more on the atmosphere and changes in research in rural sociology, see also Loomis (1981) and Sewell (1965). These debates would continue over the next decades.
- 15 Lee Taylor's article consisted of three position papers that were produced by the Rural Sociological Society's Development Committee addressing current issues facing rural sociology (Beale 1976; Warner 1969). Ray Wakely (PhD 1928) authored the first paper titled “Definitions and Relationships of Rural Sociology” (Wakeley 1967).

The 1960s

From the first degree granted by the Department in 1922 to E. L. Kirkpatrick (PhD) to the close of the 1960s, the number of graduate degrees had been growing. Of the 322 graduate degrees during that time, 133 were PhDs. To put the number into context, from 1923 to 1965 Cornell's Department of Rural Sociology produced 110 PhDs, while the University of Wisconsin, a peer program, granted 73 PhDs (Dillman 1983:53; Wileden 1979).

Moving Forward

Over the decade, the Department's faculty saw its own changes, including the additions of Frank Young in 1962, Harold Capener in 1964, Jerry D. Stockdale in 1967, and Pierre Clavel in 1968. In addition to Frank Young, long-time faculty members Paul Eberts, Eugene Erickson, and Joe Francis arrived in 1966, 1967, and 1969, respectively. Those who left the Department included Charles Ramsey and Bert Ellenbogen. As if to mark the shifting generations, retirements in the Department began with W. A. Anderson in 1960 (Ramsey, Thomas, and Polson [nd]) and ended with Frank Alexander's retirement in 1969 (Broadwell, Lawrence, and Larson [nd]).



Olaf F. Larson

The Department chair also changed hands during those 10 years. The decade began with Olaf Larson (1957-1966) at the helm and closed with Harold Capener (1966-1976) (often called "Cape") overseeing the Department as it moved into the next decade.



Harold Capener

Department Faculty in the 1960s

Department Faculty in the 1960s

Person	Start date	End date	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Walford Anderson	1931	1960										
Howard Thomas	1948	1962										
Charles Ramsey	1954	1962										
Emmit Sharp	1957	1962										
Bert Ellenbogen	1956	1966										
Robert Danley	1960	1966										
John Harp	1961	1968										
Robert Polson	1931	1971										
Olaf Larson	1946	1975										
Philip Taietz	1946	1976										
William Reeder	1948	1976										
Gordon Cummings	1954	1983										
Bernice Scott	1954	1984										
Frank Alexander	1956	1969										
Frank Young	1962	1995										
Robert Carroll	1963	1966										
Maurice Sill	1965	1966										
Harold Capener	1965	1986										
Paul Eberts	1966	2008										
M. Lee Taylor	1966	1969										
Jerry Stockdale	1967	1973										
Eugene Erickson	1967	1996										
Allan Steeves	1968	1969										
Pierre Clavel	1968	1976										
Ward Bauder	1968	1979										
Joe Francis	1969	2014										

* = Began as a faculty appointment

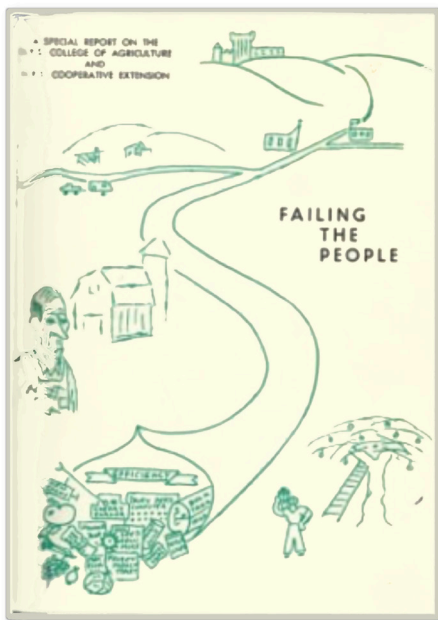
Does not include courtesy appointments or visiting appointments such as Odd Grande, Galia Tagumpay Castillo, Minnie Brown, Ed Moe, etc.

The 1970s

Just because the third digit of a year progresses by one, it doesn't mean that everything suddenly changes. Like any decade, the 1970s saw shifting ideas and shifting tides. Even though Woodstock closed out the 1960s (1969), it would be several more years before ABBA, Saturday Night Fever, and Studio 54 came to portray the decade. President Nixon, elected in 1968, would not only see the Pentagon Papers published, but also Watergate and his resignation (1974). With the secret code "White Christmas," at mid-decade, Saigon fell within hours following the final evacuation of Vietnam (1975). The previous year, a coup in Chile brought an end to the elected socialist leader Salvador Allende, and in 1979 the U.S.-backed Shah of Iran was overthrown. Rachel Carson's 1962 book *Silent Spring* was followed by the Establishment of EPA, Love Canal, and Three Mile Island. Figures from the 1960s, including Ralph Nader and Cesar Chavez, carried on into the new decade. People, trends, and events such as these would not leave the Department untouched.

Criticism and Critique

For the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, the 1970s opened with a scathing, in-depth critique (Watson, Gatehouse, and Dorsey 1972). In 1971, following investigations into migrant labor conditions at a farm owned by Cornell,



the Agriculture Policy Accountability Project announced it would examine the College of Agriculture at Cornell ("Group Plans Investigation" 1971). The group had 2 full-time staff: Lark Watson and Michael Gatehouse. Both were recent Cornell graduates. In fact, Michael Gatehouse had just completed a Master's degree in the Department of Rural Sociology in 1971.¹



The group's 449-page report, *Failing the People*, was released the following year (Watson, Gatehouse, and Dorsey 1972). It was the same year that Jim Hightower's *Hard Tomatoes Hard Times* (1973)² was published. While Hightower targeted the entire Land Grant system, *Failing the People* focused specifically on Cornell's College of Agriculture and Life Sciences.³

- 1 Engman (2007:50) has all three (Watson, Gatehouse, and Dorsey) as students in the Dept. of Rural Sociology.
- 2 *Hard Tomatoes, Hard Times* was published in three different venues during the 1970s. In 1972, the Agribusiness Accountability Project issued their report (Watson, Gatehouse, and Dorsey 1972). In 1973, Schenkman Publishing released the report and added appendices from different hearings. And in 1978, an "unexpurgated version" was published.
- 3 *Failing the People* acknowledged the "help, advice and friendship of many people" (Watson, Gatehouse, and Dorsey 1972:iii). In addition to Jim Hightower, the authors thank several from the Dept. of Rural Sociology: Jerry Stockdale, Louise Fortmann, Bruce John, and Paul Eberts.

Failing the People was not a surprise attack, since much of the materials cited had either been requested from the College or were public documents issued by the College.⁴ The authors even conducted interviews using equipment from Cornell's Oral History Program (Watson, Gatehouse, and Dorsey 1972:iii).⁵ Each section of the voluminous report targeted not only Cornell's relationship with agribusiness, but also its recent history with migrant farm labor, for ignoring those in poverty, and the inadequacy of funding in Extension's Community Resource Development program – among others.

The College's response titled *Serving the People* was reprinted in the *Cornell Chronicle* ("Agriculture College Replies" 1972; "Controversy Looms" 1972). In measured language, the College's reaction was summed up this way: "The College administration regrets that *Failing the People* includes many inaccuracies, half truths, and attacks on dedicated individuals, but it acknowledges that the document points out certain shortcomings and new challenges" ("Complete Text" 1972:5). Included in the response, the College stated that it would "continue to allocate a greater percentage of its resources to educational and research programs for the social and economic development of rural areas" ("Complete Text" 1972:5).



For Cornell and the College of Agriculture, events surrounding migrant farm labor that came to a head in the early 1970s had been germinating since the late 1960s. Separate reports had investigated living conditions of migrant farm laborers at Cohn farm in Wayne County, which had been bequeathed to Cornell ("Separate



Investigations" 1971). The resulting bulldozing of the migrant labor camp on the Cohn farm ("Cohn Camp Levelling" 1971) led to confrontations with students over the college's lack of support for farmworkers (Altschuler and Kramnick 2014:234; Engman 2007; [Cornell Migrant Program] 2002; (" 'Out of Our Hands' " 1971; "Responsibility" 1971; "Palm Agrees to Meeting" 1971; " 'Insensitive' " 1971; "Cornell University and Migrant" 1971; "Cornell's Farmworkers" 1971).

The Department of Rural Sociology was a part of the events (e.g. Engman 2007:2829, 39, 49) and included alum and visiting professor Louise Fortmann (PhD 1973), Olaf Larson, and James Converse who, along with Larson, also served on an ad hoc committee to advise the College on farm labor (Engman 2007:40, 48, 51, Appendix p 26).⁶ For a few years early in the decade, the Cornell Migrant Program was located in the Rural Sociology Department under Bruce John (Engman 2007:107-116). Bernice Scott provided assistance through her work with 4-H (Engman 2007:Appendix p 26), and through an outdoor education program for migrant children (Engman 2007:Appendix p 24).⁷

4 As if in anticipation of the report, D. W. Barton, Director of the Experiment Station in Geneva, explained how "uninformed opinions" could misconstrue agricultural research in a 1971 article in the College's *New York's Food and Life Sciences Quarterly* titled "Research in an Ivory Tower?" (Barton 1971).

5 Several in Engman (2007) recall Lark Watson and helped in his research on the College.

6 In the 1970s, Department faculty were involved with the Cornell Migrant Program in several capacities ([Cornell Migrant Program] 2002:28). Olaf Larson was on the 1971 committee that met with the University Senate Committee on Minority and Disadvantaged Interests. James Converse and Olaf Larson both served on the WCAMP College Advisory Committee which was formed in 1971. In 1978, the Rural Economic and Social Development Program Advisory Committee included Paul Eberts, Bruce John, and Walt Coward. For his part, Olaf Larson would go on to play an instrumental role in establishing the Migrant Program archives ([Cornell Migrant Program] 2002:23).

7 The migrant program would again come to reside in the Department at CaRDI, and in 2006 Mary Jo Dudley took over leadership (see Engman 2007:242-249; <http://cardi.cals.cornell.edu/programs/farmworker>). Bill Friedland, a professor at Cornell in ILR at the time, began an instructional program that inserted students into farm labor camps. For much more, see Friedland's oral history interview at UC Santa Cruz (Rabkin 2013), and the program's collection in the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections (Collection Number: 23-13-3582). <http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/EAD/html/docs/RMA03582.html>

Outreach Programs of the Land Grant University: Which Publics Should They Serve?

Inspired by the events at Cohn farm (“Group Plans” 1971), while the report *Failing the People* focused on Cornell, Hightower’s much larger critique of the Land Grant (1973) system raised for many important questions about the role of the Land Grants, especially their associations with private interests.⁸ In 1978, for example, a conference subtitled “Which Publics Should They Serve?” was organized at Kansas State University to address the role of Land Grant universities (Flora and Converse 1979).

The introduction to the conference’s proceedings stated: “The principle objective of the conference was to examine the values that underlie the traditional outreach programs of the Land Grant University, specifically those of agricultural research, cooperative extension and rural development” (Flora and Converse 1979:1). At the conference, Paul Eberts addressed several aspects of the critique directed at Extension. A self-admitted prior critic, he now sought to “focus my criticisms to make them as constructive as possible” and laid out how Extension might meet the new challenges (Eberts 1979:188).

New Legislation and New Issues

Throughout the 1970s new landscapes were developing both domestically and internationally. Building on work in community resource development already being done in the Department, and with the U.S. Presidential Task Force on Rural Development (Capener [1967]; Larson 1972; U.S. President’s Task Force 1970), faculty also participated in regional technical committees including NE-68 Paths Out of Poverty (e.g. Converse and Ashby 1979; Stockdale 1973).⁹

Twice during the decade’s early years (in 1970 and in 1972), rural development was the focus for the College’s *New York’s Food and Life Sciences Quarterly*. Each issue contained authored or co-authored articles from Department faculty, including Gene Erickson, Phil Taietz, Paul Eberts, and Jerry Stockdale.¹⁰

Rural Development and the Land Grant University

An Evaluation of Title V
of the Rural Development Act of 1972

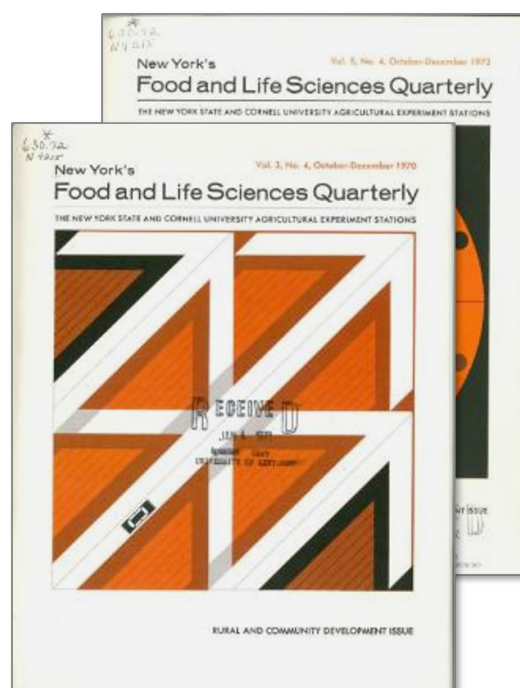
The Rural Development Act in 1972 marked an important new shift for rural areas in the United States (Beaulieu and Cordes 2014; Cowan 2014; Irwin et al. 2010;

“40 Embattled Years” 2012). Among its provisions, the Act explicitly added rural development to the USDA’s mission, directed the

8 Rural sociology was not spared the brunt of Hightower’s criticism. While acknowledging rural sociology’s low status in colleges of agriculture (1973:51-52), he also referred to “sociological bullshit” (1973:56) and how “occasionally, rural sociology research [was] actually injurious to rural people” (1973:57). Hightower’s impact would be widely felt for many years to come (Buttel 2005) and helped launch some of rural sociology’s critical self-analyses during the decade (e.g. Nolan and Galliher 1973). At the time, Friedland (1979) contextualized rural sociology’s institutional environment by including stories of what happened when the system was challenged in the past.

9 The technical committee was established in 1969. James Converse was the third person to chair the Paths Out of Poverty Committee. For more, see Groff, Longest, and Ploch (1975).

10 In line with the publication’s original focus, articles by Department faculty related to farm labor in agriculture were published in separate issues of the periodical (e.g. Bauder 1972, 1973, 1975).



USDA to support research and extension programs in the area, and required that the USDA report annually on its rural development work – something the CALS Dean also included in his annual reports (e.g. NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1976:62).

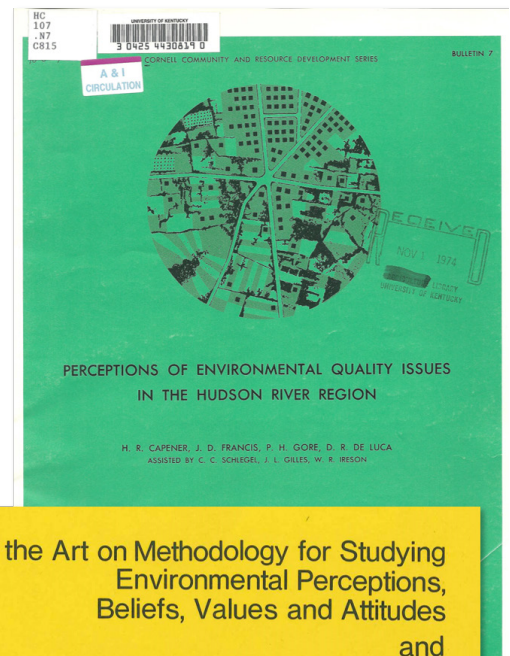
In 1972, the four Regional Rural Development Centers were established. Olaf Larson was the first Director of the Northeast Regional Center (NERCRD) (Larson 1972), and for 1975-1976 Walt Coward served as the Center's Associate Director (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:171). One of the first events held by the NERCRD was a workshop on rural development that brought together multiple regional research projects, several of which were chaired by Cornell faculty, including the regional Technical Committee NEC-14 which Gene Erickson chaired, the W-144 regional project (Erickson, Carruthers, and Oberly [1972]), and the NE-47 regional project (Eberts [1972]).

The Rural Development Act was only one piece of legislation during this time with which Department faculty engaged. Other legislation passed or under consideration included extending unemployment insurance for agricultural workers (e.g. Bauder 1972, 1975; Bauder and Bratton 1973), the Flood Disaster Protection Act of 1973 (Preston, Moore, and Cornick 1975), and Federal Flood Insurance (Moore and Cantrell 1976). In addition, because of legislative changes that affected 4-H camps, Bernice Scott organized training for 4-H agents ("Children's Camps Subject for Meeting" 1973).

A key development of the 1970s can be found in the area of the environment and natural resources. Building on the 1960s, work continued to grow during the 1970s.¹¹ As Department faculty Harold Capener, Joe Francis, and Peter Gore put it, if the 1960s was a time of "awakening [t]he 1970s appears to be a period of response" (Capener et al. 1974:1). Not only had the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) been established in 1970, but New York State created its own Department of Environmental Conservation. The Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station at Geneva wrote that not only did the new department have "a close alliance to the college mission," he also remarked that "History will record that the year 1970 opened a new era of environmental planning for New York State" (Barton 1970:4).

Within the Rural Sociological Society (RSS), the Natural Resources Research Group (NRRG) was already underway (Burch and Wade 1985; Buttel 2002). Originally named the "Sociology of Forestry Research Committee," in 1965 it became the "Sociology of Natural Resources Development Committee." Having served as the group's second chair before coming to the Department, Lee Taylor again held the position in 1968 (Burch and Wade 1985:94).¹²

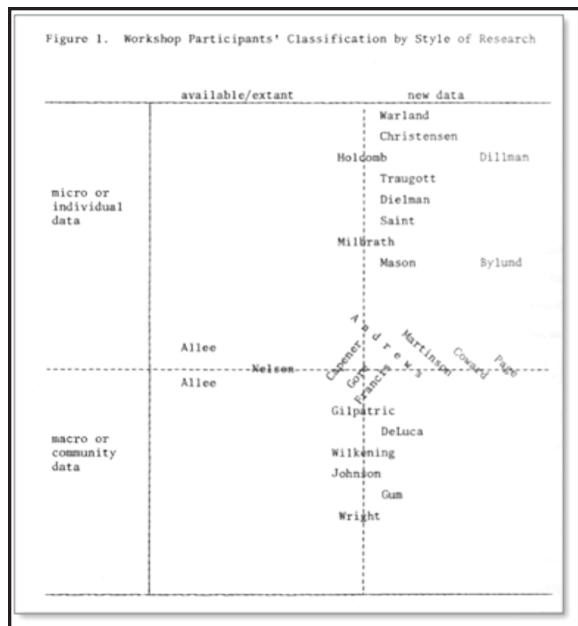
Under RSS President Tom Ford, several "Rural Task Forces" were established "to get the RSS more directly involved with pressing, contemporary problems" ([no author] 1973:103). One of these was the Task Force on



**State of the Art on Methodology for Studying
Environmental Perceptions,
Beliefs, Values and Attitudes
and
State of the Art on Utilizing Perception,
Attitude and Opinion Research**

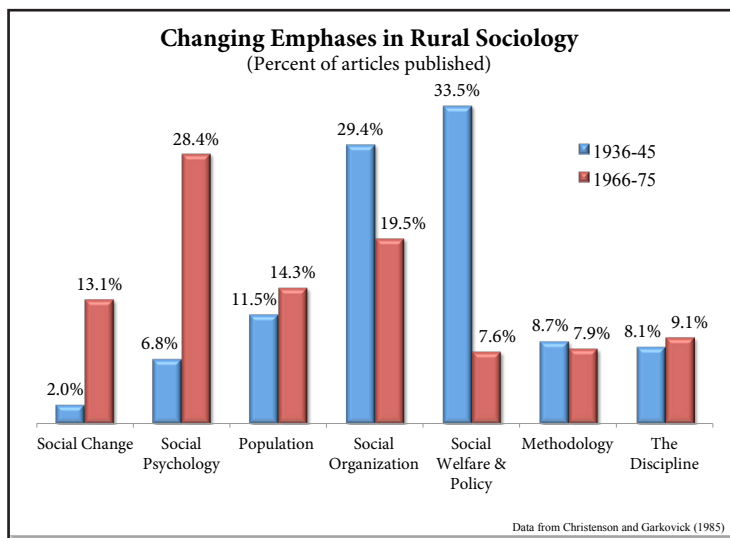
11 When the College changed its name in 1970 to the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, the original desire was to include the word "environment" (Altschuler and Kramnick 2014:120), although that did not come to fruition.

12 Growing interest and work was also evident at the Rural Sociological Society annual conferences. Compared to the 1960s, when the number of papers at each RSS annual conference was about "3 or 4," that number grew to "around 20" each year in the 1970s (Burch and Wade 1985:91). As Buttel later pointed out, the two groups of natural resources and environmental sociology, while joining forces, also have important differences (2002). See also Dunlap (1997) and Field and Burch (1988). In 2015, the Natural Resources Research Group (NRRG) celebrated its 40th anniversary.

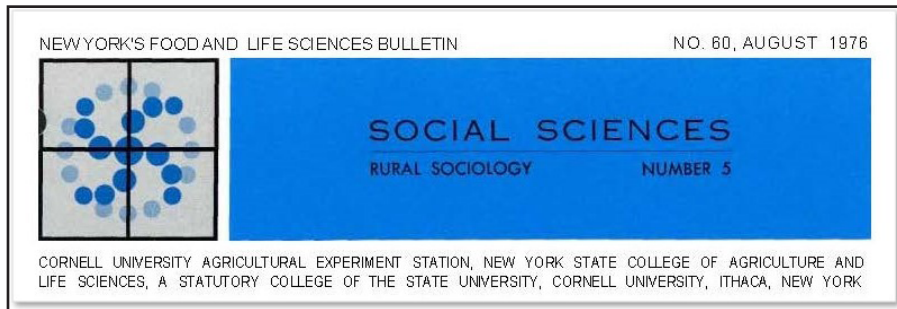


pending on the type and level of data. As revealed in the resulting diagram, while early research had focused on environmental perceptions, individual behavior, and changing attitudes, larger theoretical issues were starting to come to the fore and would be the area's main focus by the end of the decade (e.g. Catton and Dunlap 1978a, 1978b; Buttel 1978).

For rural sociology, the 1970s were significantly different from the 1930s when the journal *Rural Sociology* began.¹⁴ In the 1970s, shifting areas of emphasis included increases in articles addressing social change and social organization, but a decrease in those categorized as social welfare and policy (Christenson and Garkovich 1985). Part of the marked increase in social psychology was research on environmental perceptions and attitudes.



Rural Sociology was a common journal in which to find Department research. In 1978, Grimes, Pinhey, and Phifer used the number of major research articles in *Rural Sociology* to compare the productivity of differ-



ent departments (Grimes et al. 1978). Between 1936 and 1975, authors listing Cornell University as their home institution had the 3rd highest number of publications with 53 for the full time period. Over the decades covered, Cornell-affiliated authors consistently published between 13 and 15 articles a year in the journal.¹⁵

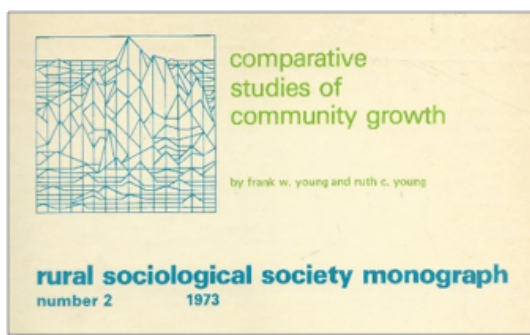
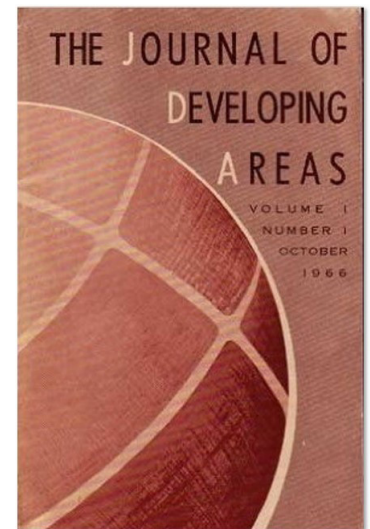
- 13 In 1975, the Task Force on the Rural Environment and Natural Resources resolved to “become a part of the Committee on
Natural Resources” (Wilkening 1975:38).
- 14 In American sociology, books published early in the decade included Talcott Parsons’ *The System of Modern Societies* as well
as Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward’s *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*. Also published was the
much-cited Alvin W. Gouldner’s *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology*.
- 15 While overall Cornell ranked third, the ranking across decades showed a distinct pattern on which the authors commented

Emphasis areas reflected in *Rural Sociology* were also areas where Department faculty published and in many outlets beyond the journal. Topics covered included work with local areas, such as the town of Groton (Preston and Bailey 1979) and community assessments in Genesee and Broome counties (Preston 1976a, 1976b). The Department Bulletin series alone had 31 different issues (Larson and Cunnings 1979). One of these was Gould Colman's 8-part series on farm family decision making (e.g. Colman and Lowe 1975). Work providing population data conducted since the 1930s (e.g. Anderson 1932, 1942, 1956; Paydarfar and Larson 1963) continued into the 1970s. During the decade, in addition to analyses (e.g. Bauder 1979; W. Brown and Preston 1978) and data-books (e.g. R. Young 1979), the department also produced 2 different series with individual reports for every county in the State of New York (Francis, Hickey, and Woodford [nd]; Larson 1973).

While *Rural Sociology* had the most publications of any single journal produced by Department faculty, it was not the only professional journal where Department research was being published. In the 1970s, faculty published in over 50 different journals, including newly established journals focused on the environment such as *Human Ecology* (est. 1972), *Journal of Environmental Education* (est. 1969), and *Environment and Behavior* (est. 1969).¹⁶

International Work

The largest array of different journals where faculty were publishing was in international or internationally focused journals, including those that began in the 1960s such as *Latin American Research Review* (est. 1965), *Journal of Developing Areas* (est. 1966), and *Journal of Development Studies* (est. 1964). Even before the Ford Foundation Grant in the early 1960s, international research and international students were important for the Department. In the 1970s, this continued. In addition to journals focused on development, both on their own and with students and other co-authors, faculty publishing included articles in the *Philippine Sociological Review*, *Journal of the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development*, *Philippine Economic Journal*, *Bangladesh Development Studies*, *African Affairs*, *Africa Today*, and *Caribbean Studies*.



Books and monographs by Department faculty covered international research in areas such as farm mechanization in Southeast Asia (Barnett 1974), change in the Philippines (Pal and Polson 1973), and Ethiopia (Cohen and Weintraub 1975). Frank Young and Ruth Young published the results from two NSF grants in the second monograph sponsored by the Rural Sociological Society (1973).¹⁷

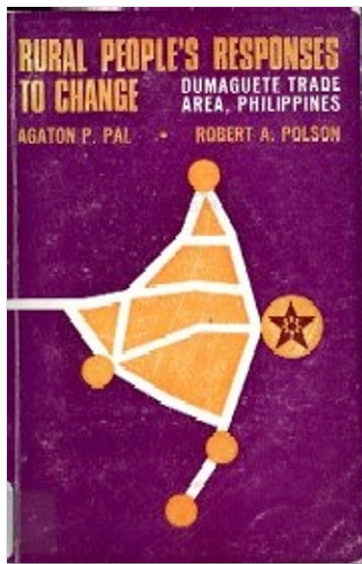
International research in the Department covered a wide range of topics, including Walt Coward's work on irrigation (Coward 1976) and Cohen's "Effects of Green Revolution Strategies on the Tenants and Small Scale Landowners of the Chilalo Region of Ethiopia" (Cohen 1974). Research with graduate students and other co-authors spanned geographies, including Peru, Taiwan, Finland, Bangladesh, and Mexico.

(Grimes, Pinhey, and Phifer 1978). As the total number of articles at a few other universities increased, Cornell's ranking relative to them decreased. Still, the difference between some institutions could be as small as a single article.

16 Data and journal titles were compiled from Larson and Cunnings (1979). After publishing 3 articles in the *American Journal of Sociology* in the 1960s (1962, 1967; Young and Young 1966), Frank Young opened the decade with an article in the *American Sociological Review* (1970). From 1970 into 1979, Young authored or co-authored the largest number of journal articles (13), followed by John Cohen (10).

17 In 1981, the Rural Sociological Society replaced the monograph series with the Rural Studies book series. Fred Buttel, Chair of the RSS Publications Committee, announced that David Brown would serve as the first series editor and chair its First Editorial board. Also on the board was Frank Young as a specialist in international development and social change (Buttel 1981).

Beyond books and journals, Department faculty published in outlets associated with the Cornell International Agriculture program. During the decade, two International Agriculture Bulletins, two International Agriculture Mimeographs, and seven International Agriculture Reprints were produced by those in the Department, including the reprint of Ruth Young's "Land Reform Policy in Latin America Before and After the Bogota Conference" in *Rural Sociology* (1969).



In addition to conducting and directing research, faculty brought a wide range of international experiences to their time in the Department. Bob Polson's book (Pal and Polson 1973), for instance, began as a Fulbright Fellowship to start a rural social science research program at Silliman University in the Philippines (Larson, Taietz, and Erickson [nd]). Before coming to Cornell, Milt Barnett served as an advisor to the Malaysian Prime Minister and conducted research and taught at the University of Malay. In recognition for his work, he received the Government's Panglima Setia Mahkota Award – normally reserved for Malaysian citizens (Barker, Coward, and Feldman [nd]).

As faculty were working in international arenas in multiple ways, the landscape for international research was also changing. After publications like *The Population Bomb* by Stanford University Professor Paul R. Ehrlich, and W.W. Rostow's *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* in the 1960s, new voices, new alternatives, and new critiques had been emerging (e.g. Evans and Stephens 1988). Instead of functionalism and modernism, work had begun to

shift to examine structural impacts of development and to view the international arena as a larger system. Works such as those by Wallerstein (1974) brought a global perspective, and dependency theory focused attention on the impacts of structured inequality on nonwestern nations (e.g. Evans 1979; Cardoso 1971; Gunder Frank 1974). These approaches and theoretical lenses would deeply influence international research, not only in this decade but for years to come.¹⁸

In 1973, events in Chile brought up a familiar name for the Department – Michael Gatehouse. Gatehouse received his Master's from the Department in 1971 and co-authored the *Failing the People* report (Watson, Gatehouse, and Dorsey 1972). News emerged that he had been detained by the Chilean government. As James Converse described Gatehouse in a news article: "He wanted to help the revolution and that is why he was arrested" ("Chilean Military Hold Cornell Grad Captive" 1973:6). Three days later, the newspaper reported that Gatehouse had been released ("Graduate Student Released" 1973).



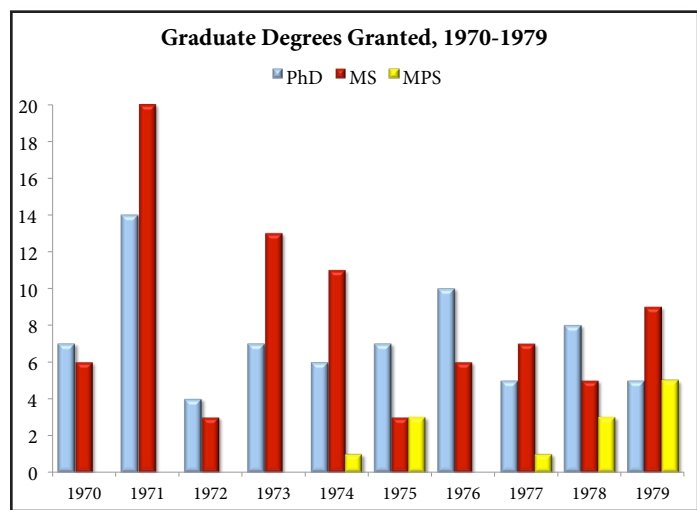
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Economics and Enrollments

With stagflation of the 1970s gripping the nation, fiscal issues would mark the decade for many, including Cornell and the College (Altschuler and Kramnick 2014:111, 124, 126, 246). Responding to decreases in state and federal funding, the College developed a plan "for reducing or closing out programs in lower priority areas" and Rural Sociology was one of three units that saw reductions in its resources (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1975:5). In his 1976 annual report, College Dean Keith Kennedy opened: "Last year's report described the challenging but traumatic experience of adjusting to the State budget cuts imposed during 1974-1975. The challenge and trauma continued during 1975-1976" (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1975:5).

18 As Harriet Friedman pointed out, the relationship of modernization and dependency theory to rural and agriculture/agrarian issues was not always easy: "Agriculture and rural life ... tended to be interesting only to the extent that they refused to exhibit the expected rate of decline" (1983:115).

Changes in enrollment also marked the decade. In 1973, the number of baccalaureate degrees conferred by the College exceeded 600 for the first time (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1973:31). Enrollments at Cornell went from 14,000 students in 1969 to 16,000 in 1974 (Altschuler and Kramnick 2014:124). Reflecting back on the financial climate in colleges of agriculture at that time, Dillman noted that, had it not been for the enrollment increases, “I believe that rural sociology would have suffered dramatic losses in the late 1960s and early 1970s” (1983:91).



Changes in enrollment were clearly visible in the Department's graduate degree conferrals. In the previous decade, the Department awarded 118 graduate degrees, but this number would be exceeded in the 1970s, rising to 169 graduate degrees. Within the decade, 1971 saw the largest number for any single year, when 34 students received Master's and PhD degrees. Overall, graduate enrollment in the Department declined during the 1970s, especially at the PhD level. Nonetheless, by the end of the decade, the Department was still awarding 6-10 PhDs per year. In contrast, undergraduate enrollment began to increase after 1974.

In 1973, the College began offering the Master's of Professional Science degree (MPS) that “emphasizes application rather than theory” (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1973:32). The next year, Kris Merschrod was awarded the Department's first MPS, followed by Luis Coronado-Castillo, Walter Price, and Mark Epp in 1975.

When the 1970s began, the Graduate Field's name had only recently been changed to Development Sociology. In the 1971-1972 academic year the field had two major areas: “Organization and Social Action” and “Rural Sociology,” and a minor area called “Methods of Social Research” (Cornell University 1970a:78). By the end of the decade, the minor area had been dropped and “Sociology of Development” had been added to the list of major areas for graduate study (Cornell University 1978a:44-45).

For instruction in the Department, the decade opened with around 8 undergraduate courses, 9 for both upper-division undergraduates and graduate students, and 13 graduate-level courses (Cornell University 1970b:164-179).¹⁹ Reflecting advances in computer technology, Paul Eberts taught “Introduc-

Courses and Instructors					
Instructor Listed	Course Number				
	1970-1971			1978-1979	
	100-300	400	500+	100-400	600+
Eberts	2	1	3	2	2
Erickson		1	1	1	2
Young		1	1	1	3
Francis	1		1		4
Cummings		1	1	2	
Reeder	2	1	2		
Stockdale	3		1		
Larson	1/2	1			
Capener		1/2			
Taietz		2			
Bauder		1	1		
Francis			1		
Polson			1		
Miller				1/2, 1/2	
Buttel				1/2	
Cohen				2	1
Scott				1	
Capener				2	
Barnett				2	1/3
Caldwell				1/2	
Preston				2	
Coward					1/3
Levine					1/3

In 1970-1971, course numbers 100-300 were undergraduate, 400 were combined upper division undergraduate and graduate level, and 500 and above were graduate level. (Cornell University 1970b: 164-179; 178b:32-34)

¹⁹ Of the courses offered by the Department, one appeared several times in the 1970s in the *Cornell Daily Sun*. The class was 375 “Sociology of the Female Labor Force” taught by Jennie Farley. “The purpose of this course is to make people aware of the part women play in the labor force” (“Center Offers Feminist Courses” 1971). Farley's course was one of the early classes to focus on women and was part of the new female studies program – the precursor to the women's studies program (“Dr. Farley asks support” 1970; “Women's Courses Expand” 1971; Farley 1997). A copy of the course syllabus is available in Howe and Ahlum 1971:117-118. Farley worked for Cooperative Extension (Farley 1971; Bruyere et al. [nd]) and, with degrees in Sociology from Cornell, was a lecturer in the Department for a short time. She went on to become a professor in ILR and a member of the Cornell Board of Trustees (“Jenny Farley, Champion of Women's Rights” 2002). In 1976, Women's Studies became a permanent program in the College of Arts and Sciences (“Women's Studies Now Permanent” 1976).

tion to Computer Use” for both advanced undergraduate and graduate students. Additional courses included independent study and research credits.

By the close of the decade, while the total number of courses did not change much, the course numbering and list of courses did (Cornell University 1970b:164-179, 1978b:32-34). Undergraduate courses now appearing included Bernice Scott’s “Recreation Leadership and Leisure Education,” Harold Capener’s “Social Organization and the Environment,” and John Cohen’s “Rural Sociology and World Development.” Gene Erickson’s “Sociology of Agriculture” was taught separately at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Other graduate courses reflected the changes in research methodology, including multiple courses by Joe Francis, such as “Factor Analysis and Multidimensional Scaling” and “Regression and Path Analysis.”

Reflecting other trends during the decade, as Secretary of the Graduate Faculty, Frank Young was interviewed by the *Cornell Daily Sun* about President Corson’s recommendation to allow provisional acceptance of Black graduate students (“Corson Urges” 1970). In 1971, seven Department faculty (including a visiting faculty member) joined the list of 176 names in a *Cornell Daily Sun* full-page ad calling for a *March on Washington, DC* (“Why March in Washington Again” 1971). At mid-decade, Paul Eberts’ editorial in the *Cornell Chronicle* addressed the ongoing issue of Cornell’s serving disadvantaged groups, adding low-income farmers to the discussion (“Can Cornell Aid Disadvantaged?” 1976).²⁰

Following in the footsteps of Department faculty Dwight Sanderson, W. A. Anderson, Bob Polson, and Olaf Larson, in 1974 Harold Capener began his term as President of the Rural Sociological Society (Capener 1975). In 1978, Bernice Scott was recognized for her work by being the second person to receive the newly established “Award of Merit” by the New York State Association of Cornell Cooperative Extension 4-H Educators (NYS Association of Cornell Cooperative Extension 4-H Educators 2009:2).

For several years in the latter half of the decade, Gene Erickson served as the University Ombudsman. In the 1978 Department holiday letter, Gene wrote of his experience:

“What a fascinating function within an institution. There seems to be no end to the range of problems an institution can create for people – and often with the best of intentions!” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1978:4.)

Moving Forward

New faculty joining the Department included Milt Barnett and Walt Coward in 1973, James Preston in 1974, Fred Buttel in 1978, and Chuck Geisler and Patricia Garrett in 1979. Faculty who left included Jerry Stockdale, James Converse, John Cohen, Dan Moore, Andrew Milnor, and Michael Miller. The 1970s also saw Olaf Larson, Phil Taietz, William Reeder, and Ward Bauder begin their respective retirements.²¹ In the summer of 1972, Mary Eva Duthie passed away (Larson, Reeder, Polson [nd]).

At the close of 1979, the annual holiday letter listed 14 faculty, 13 support staff, 11 other professions, and 44 graduate students (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1979:10). In 1976, Harold Capener, who had joined the Depart-

The collage consists of three newspaper clippings from the *Cornell Daily Sun*. The top clipping, dated Thursday, April 24, 1971, is titled "WHY March in Washington Again This SATURDAY APRIL 24?" and lists names of faculty endorsing the march. The middle clipping, dated Thursday, April 24, 1970, is titled "Corson Urges Provisional Admission of Black Grads" and reports on University President Dale R. Corson's recommendation. The bottom clipping, dated Thursday, April 24, 1976, is titled "Can Cornell Aid Disadvantaged?" and is an editorial by Paul Eberts discussing the university's role in serving disadvantaged groups.

20 In a following editorial, the Associate Director of Extension responded to Eberts by defending Extension’s record (“Extension Work in NY Clarified” 1976).

21 At this time, retirement was mandatory at age 65. Some of these scholars would have undoubtedly continued working if not for mandatory retirement. To honor those who were retiring, the College Dean’s annual reports during this time included statements on the faculty’s accomplishments (e.g. Bauder, Polson, and Reeder 1975; Barnett, Bauder, and Polson 1976; Larson, Feldman, and Williams 1976).

The 1970s



Walt Coward

ment in 1965, completed his term as Department chair. Walt Coward was next to serve in the “corner office” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1979:1). In 1979, when Coward took on a 2-year appointment with the Ford Foundation, Gene Erickson stepped in and would hold the reins for the next 10 years.



Gene Erickson

The 1970s

Department Faculty in the 1970s

Department Faculty in the 1970s

Person	Start date	End date	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Robert Polson	1931	1971										
Jerry Stockdale	1967	1973										
Olaf Larson	1946	1975										
Philip Taietz	1946	1976										
William Reeder	1948	1976										
Pierre Clavel	1968	1976										
Gordon Cummings	1954	1983										
Bernice Scott	1954	1984										
Frank Young	1962	1995										
Harold Capener	1965	1986										
Paul Eberts	1966	2008										
Eugene Erickson	1967	1996										
Ward Bauder	1968	1979										
Joe Francis	1969	2014										
Jim Converse	1971	1977										
Dan Moore	1972	1977										
Milt Barnett	1973	1985										
Walt Coward	1973	1991										
Jim Preston	1974	1987										
John M. Cohen	1974	1978										
Andrew Milnor	1974	1977										
Michael K. Miller	1977	1978										
Fred Buttel	1978	1992										
Chuck Geisler	1979	2014										
Patricia Garrett	1979	1986										

* = Began as a faculty appointment

Does not include courtesy appointments or visiting appointments such as Odd Grande, Galia Tagumpay Castillo, Minnie Brown, Ed Moe, etc.

The 1980s

Like any decade, the 1980s came with its own set of opportunities and constraints. Opening with the former actor Ronald Reagan being elected president, he would occupy the White House for most of the decade. While his faith in supply-side economics was characterized in the term “Reaganomics,” for others it was “voodoo economics.” Even with the Iran-Contra affair, the decade saw the rise of Reagan- and Thatcher-era conservatism. Reflected in the declaration “Greed is good” from the movie *Wall Street*, the 1980s saw the rise of the “yuppie.” For rural America, the farm crisis witnessed rising farm foreclosures and suicides. Even as the report “The Decline of Black Farming in America” documented racial discrimination in federal farm credit, the Reagan administration closed the USDA’s Civil Rights Office.

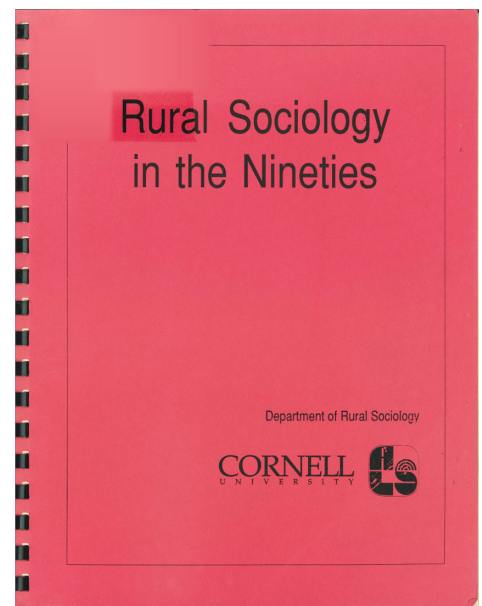
Having opened with the murder of John Lennon, “I want my MTV” became a popular mantra. Not just MTV, cable TV brought 24-hour news with the start of CNN, sports with ESPN, and the national weather coverage with the Weather Channel. As Sandra Day O’Connor became the first female Supreme Court Justice, Sally Ride was the first American woman in space. Three years later, the space shuttle Challenger disaster took the lives of all on board, while millions watched to see Christa McAuliffe become the first teacher in space. The decade began with Mount Saint Helen’s volcano erupting in Washington State and closed with the Exxon Valdez oil tanker spilling 240,000 barrels of oil in Alaska – the largest oil spill to date.

Globally, “structural adjustment” and Third World debt framed international development. In 1989 the Berlin Wall separating East and West Germany fell, signaling for many the end of the cold war. In China, Tiananmen Square was the focal point for pro-democracy protesters. An industrial gas leak killed nearly 4,000 in Bhopal, India, while in 1986, the Chernobyl nuclear reactor in the Soviet Union exploded. As famine in Ethiopia came into people’s homes through news coverage, the songs “Do They Know It’s Christmas?” and “We Are the World” raised money for famine relief.

The 1980s also witnessed ongoing changes in consumer technology. Personal computers continued to gain ground with the first Apple Macintosh and the first releases of Windows and Word. Compared to their large mainframe counterparts, desktop computers were called “microcomputers.” In addition to the Walkman (a portable cassette tape player), video games emerged with Pac-Man being joined by the handheld Game Boy. The decade even saw the first cell phone, known as “the brick,” become an iconic image.

A Decade in Review

External reviews are part of any academic department’s life, and this was true of Rural Sociology as well. Reviews typically examine every detail of a department, including finances, curriculum, enrollments, and scholarly accomplishments, and the impact of outreach programs.¹ Brimming with details, especially in the second half of the 1980s, the



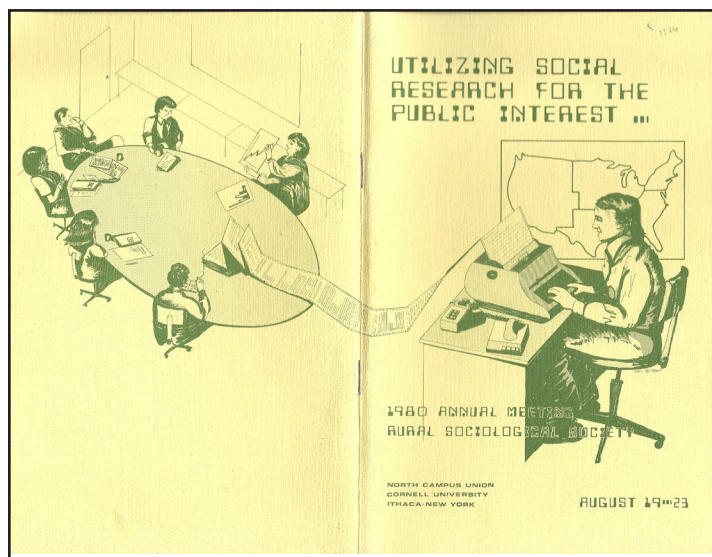
1 Even though they are rich sources of information, trends, and details that are not regularly found elsewhere, they are often difficult to come by – especially in their entirety. In the late 1980s, the Dept. of Rural Sociology’s self-study that was conducted as part of its external review not only survived, but a copy was even located via interlibrary loan. Still, while its pages are filled with historic details, a self-study document can be more about positioning for the future than recounting the past, and so it only hints at the full nature and extent of the shifts that had occurred throughout the decade.

self-study provided a unique view into the Department.

In his introduction, Gene Erickson noted some of the continuities and changes across the years. Illustrating their magnitude, during the time covered by the review, “of the 24 full time faculty associated with the department ... eight retired or resigned, eight are new, two are in administration, and only six were present during the entire decade” (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:5). But even as the later years of the decade looked very different from the early years, contained within were many seeds of change that would launch the 1990s.

The Rural Sociological Society Comes to Town

The 1980s opened with the Rural Sociological Society holding its annual meeting in Ithaca that August. It had been twenty years since the last time the Rural Sociological Society met on the Cornell campus (RSS 1959). Serving as program chair, Paul Eberts called it “the biggest professional event in my life” during that year (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1980:6). Paul joined two others in the Department as having recently served as RSS conference program chairs, as the 1977 and 1978 RSS conferences had been chaired by Joe Francis and Fred Buttel, respectively (Buttel and Eberts 1980).²



The 1980 conference theme, “Utilizing Social Research for the Public Interest,” was chosen by RSS President and Department alum Ed Moe (PhD 1951). As if written today, in his welcome in the conference program, Eberts noted how the sum total of the 1980 conference sessions should “provide important guidance in this era when social science is under considerable fire and when ideologies (left, right, and center) command more attention than empirically tested theoretical relationships” (RSS 1980:i).

Gene Erickson oversaw local arrangements for the conference, organizing field trips and “educational tours,” including the “Community Development Tour of Corning and Watkins Glenn,” a tour of local wineries, and a trip focused on family decision-making

with visits to local dairy, fruit, and poultry farms. The conference included a welcome address by CALS Dean David Call, as well as a keynote address by the Director of Governmental Relations for Energy and Natural Resources from the National Association for State Universities and Land Grant Colleges. Alum Doug Ensminger (PhD 1939), former Director of the Ford Foundation Program in India, was featured in a plenary titled “Uses of Rural Sociology in Creating New Institutions in Rural Settings of Less Developed Nations” (RSS 1980:9).

The conference had 78 sessions with 349 participants listed in the program (RSS 1980). Sessions were held at the North Campus Union and attendees could stay in the dorms or at local hotels (Erickson 1980). Following a tradition of the time, a picnic was held at Taughannock Falls. Of those involved in putting on the 1980 conference, Paul Eberts acknowledged Brenda Creeley of the Department’s staff as invaluable in overseeing “every detail of the organization ... necessary to make a good program possible” (RSS 1980:ii; Eberts 1980:8-9).

Continuing a Legacy across Generations

The Department’s legacy of involvement and leadership in rural sociology and the Rural Sociological Society (RSS) dates back to Dwight Sanderson, who was the RSS’s first President. In the decade-end Department review, 13 of the 17 tenure-based faculty reported participation and/or membership in the Society (Dept. of Rural

2 Among those in the department who served as conference program chair for RSS was Frank Alexander, who served in the role for the 1958 annual meeting (Larson 1985).

Sociology [1989]). Like ripples in a pond, in addition to faculty involvement, the Department's PhD alumni were also widely represented in the Society.

It was in the 1980s when the Rural Sociological Society established awards to recognize outstanding achievements, and both Department faculty and PhD alumni were among those whose accomplishments were recognized. In 1981, the RSS awarded the first of its two most prestigious awards: "Distinguished Service to Rural Life" and "Distinguished Rural Sociologist." One third of those recognized as Distinguished Rural Sociologist during the 1980s had ties to the Department. Joining the six who were PhD alumni, Olaf Larson was the first faculty member in the Department to receive the lifetime recognition (Voth 1985).³ Alongside other recipients – such as Senator Patrick Leahy from Vermont, Speaker of the House Thomas Foley, and former Secretary of Agriculture Bob Bergland – was Minnie Miller Brown (PhD 1955), who would count the 1987 Distinguished Service to Rural Life award among her many recognitions (Marsh and Larson 1996).

Department faculty and PhD alumni were also represented in the highest leadership role in the professional society.⁴ The long line included Department faculty and alum Harry Schwarzweller (PhD 1958) in the 1970s, and in the 1980s both Ed Moe (PhD 1951) and Cornelia Flora (PhD 1971) served in the position. Known as "Neal," Cornelia Flora was just the second woman to be president of the RSS.⁵ Capping off the decade, in 1989 Fred Buttel was the 6th Department faculty member elected President of the RSS.

As a new generation of voices emerged during the 1980s, so too did a host of new publication outlets that continue to this day. As if echoing frustrations with the lack of publication opportunities that had launched the journal *Rural Sociology* in the 1930s (e.g. Christenson and Colman 1985; Holik and Hassinger 1987; [Polson, Robert A.] 1936), the 1980s opened with RSS members vigorously debating whether to expand the journal's pages (e.g. Perry, Busch, and Coughenour 1980; Picou 1980; Copp 1980). The search for publication outlets extended beyond the journal, and the decade saw the emergence of both new book series and new journals. In each of these, Department faculty can be found among the many editorial and authorial roles.

Early in the decade, the Rural Sociological Society began publishing works longer than those possible in the RSS Monograph Series – which had included Frank and Ruth Young's work on comparative community growth (1973) and Gould Colman's analysis of the New York "sugar beet fiasco" (1976). As a result, the monograph series was ended, and in collaboration with Westview Press, the RSS established the Rural Studies Series.

Professional Associations with More than One Tenure Track Faculty Reporting Membership (Dept of Rural Sociology [1989])	
Professional Association	Number of Faculty
American Sociological Association	15
Rural Sociological Society	13
Population Association of America	6
Eastern Sociological Society	5
International Sociological Association	4
International Union for the Scientific Study of Population	4
American Association for the Advancement of Science	3
Association for Asian Studies	3
Society for Applied Anthropology	3
American Anthropological Association	2
Southern Sociological Society	2
Southwestern Sociological Society	2

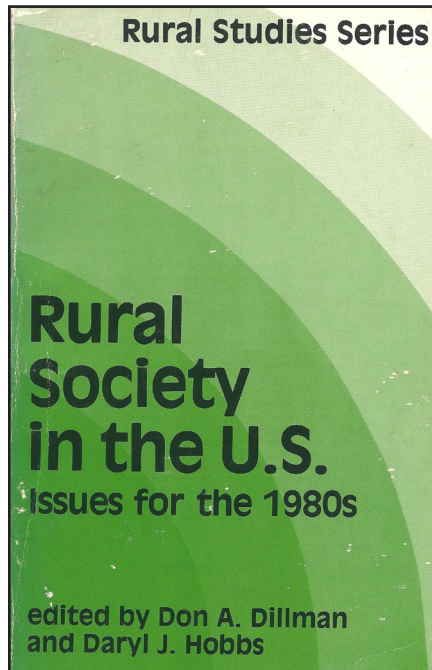
Rural Studies Series

3 PhD alumni receiving the Distinguished Rural Sociologist recognition in the 1980s were: Howard Beers (PhD 1935), M. E. John (PhD 1937), Doug Ensminger (PhD 1939), Harold Kaufman (PhD 1942), Lee Coleman (PhD 1950), Ed Moe (PhD 1951),.

4 The pages of *Newsline* and *The Rural Sociologist* contain many references to Department faculty and alumni in leadership roles, including chairing and serving on standing committees, serving on Council, and leading research groups. Some examples during the 1980s include Fred Buttel as Vice President, Tom Lyson and Fred both served as associate editor for *Rural Sociology*, and Tom Lyson served on the development committee. Both Tom Hirschl and Tom Lyson were on the membership committee. Lyson chaired the ad hoc committee on unemployment. Nina Glasgow was on the program committee, on which Lyson and Eberts also served.

5 The first woman to be president of the RSS was Margaret Hagood (1955-1956). Building on the work of the RSS Women's Caucus, first formed before 1970 (Flora 1972; 1978), while still only representing 25% of members, the number of women had increased markedly from 15 years earlier (Willits and Ghelfi 1988:297-298; Willits et al. 1988). In 1980 the RSS formally changed its language, replacing "chairman" with simply "chair" for all of its committees (Zimmerman 2012:16).

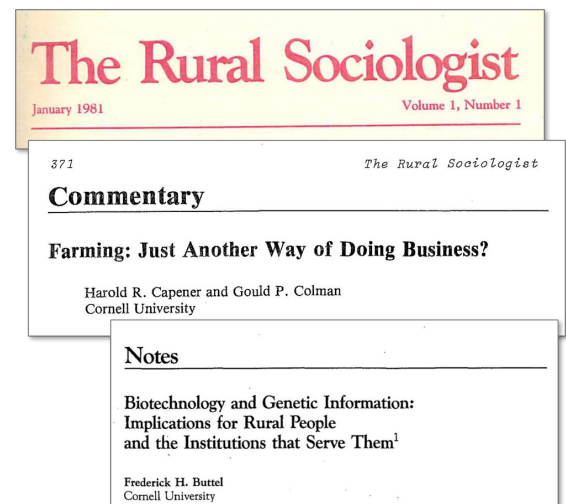
Department faculty members played multiple roles in establishing the new book series. Fred Buttel chaired the Publications Committee, which oversaw the transition, and Frank Young served on the first editorial board as the subject matter specialist in international development and social change (Buttel 1981; Goudy 2006a). Following its launch, the Department continued providing leadership, including Fred Buttel and Chuck Geisler serving as chair and associate chair of the editorial committee, respectively (Buttel and Geisler 1987). David Brown, who would join the Department in 1987, also served as chair of the Rural Studies Series' editorial board (Buttel 1981; Goudy 2006a).



Following on the success of the two earlier “decennial volumes” sponsored by the RSS (Copp 1964; Ford 1978), the first book published in the Rural Studies Series was *Rural Society in the U.S.: Issues for the 1980s* (Dillman and Hobbs 1982a). Seen as the “flagship volume” of the new series (Buttel 1981:260), the book’s 41 chapters included 3 written by Department faculty. Paul Eberts’ contribution on social indicators was part of the section on Community (Eberts 1982), and in the section on Natural Resources were both Joe Francis’ chapter “Water” (Francis 1982) and Fred Buttel’s chapter on rural resources and the environment (Buttel 1982).⁶

In 1981, the RSS newsletter (called *Newsline*) became *The Rural Sociologist* (TRS), and its format changed to look more like a journal.⁷ With its new look, TRS continued to include Society news and announcements, but articles and editorials now fig-

ured prominently. Research articles included those like Patricia Garrett’s on the role of the social sciences in the Bean/Cowpea Collaborative Research Support Program that covered 13 countries in Latin America and Africa (1985), and Frank Young’s assessment of research methodologies for development sociology (1988).



A unique hallmark of *TRS* during these years were the many (and often lively) exchanges, commentaries, and critiques. In 1986, for example, Harold Capener and Gould Colman asked if farming should be seen as just another business (e.g. Capener and Colman 1986). The pages of *TRS* also provided a unique outlet for assessing and exploring newly developing areas, such as the impact of biotechnology in agriculture (e.g. Buttel 1985a, 1989), as well as farming systems and international research (e.g. Garrett 1983a, 1984, 1985).

New Outlooks in Environment, Agriculture, and Natural Resources

Both through its faculty and its PhD alumni, the Department was part of what was a lively decade. With a younger generation becoming active professionals, new issues and new voices were being felt.⁸ As the decade progressed, what had begun as newly emerging areas with fluid boundaries soon began to form defined qualities and distinct vantage points.

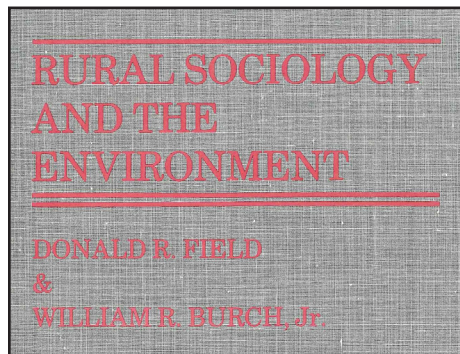
⁶ Prior to joining the Department, David Brown authored the chapter “Land Use and the Rural Community.”

⁷ Even though brief articles and commentary had been a part of *Newsline*, early on there were concerns that *TRS* would be a “pseudo-journal” (Buttel 1985b). Having successfully found its way through its early years, the publication became an important outlet for decades to come (Goudy 2006b; Zimmerman 2011).

⁸ The entrance of a new generation was evident in the membership of the RSS as there was an increase in the proportion of RSS members in the “active” membership category (Willits and Ghelfi 1988:297; Field, Frederickson, and Fuguitt 1973).

Debates over the future and proper nature of rural sociology intensified during the 1980s, and the Rural Sociological Society (RSS) served as a place where risks could be taken and new areas explored (e.g. Field and Burch 1988:xii-xv).⁹ Two emerging areas in the 1980s were encompassed in Environment and Natural Resources and the Sociology of Agriculture. Even though the two areas comprised separate interest groups within the RSS, they were a single emphasis area in the Department (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]).

While environment and natural resources developed distinctive approaches, both held a common interest in the “human/environment nexus” (Belsky 2002; Dunlap and Canton 2002; Field, Luloff, and Krannich 2013). Already having played a part during its emergence, interest and work by Department faculty continued throughout the 1980s. Following Lee Taylor, who had chaired the RSS interest group in the late 1960s, Fred Buttel took over in the 1980s (Burch and Wade 1985:94-95).



As the 1980s unfolded, environment and natural resources began to build its professional identity. In 1986, Don Field organized the first International Symposium on Society and Resource Management (ISSRM), which was held at Oregon State University (Burdge 1999; Krannich, Luloff, and Theodori 2013). As Burdge later recounted, “To everyone’s surprise over 300 attended” (1999:181). Two years later, the multidisciplinary journal *Society and*

Natural Resources was launched (Burdge 1999), and it “quickly emerged as the preeminent social science journal addressing topics pertaining to the society–environment interface” (Krannich, Luloff, and Theodori 2013:127). Chuck Geisler served on the journal’s editorial board during these early years (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:193).

Work in the Department in both natural resources and the environment took several forms. In his 1981 holiday letter, Joe Francis announced: “We are in the process of bringing our mammoth EPA grant to a successful conclusion” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1981:7). The “mammoth” report was 5 volumes, with over 2,000 pages, which was then submitted to the U.S. Congress. Their research on water and water systems had begun in the late 1970s (e.g. Allee, Capener, Francis, and Brower 1976) and was “the first systematic, nationally representative examination of the broad issues related to rural domestic water” (Francis et al. 1982:21).

The study had been called for in the 1974 Safe Drinking Water Act. The Act initiated national standards for water quality and extended U.S. federal oversight to smaller water suppliers. To fulfill its mission, the legislation mandated that a national assessment of rural water quality be conducted.¹⁰ Joe was awarded a grant to conduct

Executive Summary

NATIONAL STATISTICAL ASSESSMENT OF RURAL WATER CONDITIONS

Report prepared for

**The Office of Drinking Water
US Environmental Protection Agency**

by

**JOE D. FRANCIS, Principal Investigator
BRUCE L. BROWER
WENDY F. GRAHAM**

**OSCAR W. LARSON III
JULIAN L. McCAULL
HELENE MORAN VIGORITA**

**Department of Rural Sociology
Cornell University**

Illustrations and Graphics by:

Susan B. Lent

Word Processing by:

Betty L. Van Amburg

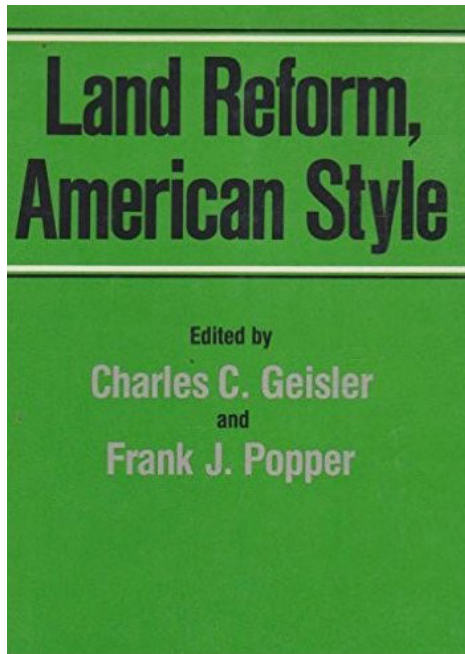
⁹ Self assessments and critiques were not new (e.g. Sewell 1965), but during the 1980s they did become more prolific, took on a decidedly different tone, and argued for distinctive solutions. Anniversaries also spurred examinations of the past, present, and future during this time. In the 1980s, not only did the RSS celebrate its 50th anniversary, but the ASA also recognized its 75th anniversary. For both organizations, the event elicited appraisals as well as consternation about the future (e.g. Holik and Hassinger 1987; Moore 1981; Rossi 1981). For rural sociology, while some assessments during the decade saw continuities with the past (e.g. Hooks 1986), others advocated for a clearer break (e.g. Newby 1980; 1982).

¹⁰ In addition to water quality, the study also ascertained the “quantity, availability, cost, and affordability of domestic water in

the assessment.

The water study revealed a “greater magnitude and prevalence” of contaminants in rural water systems than had been expected – especially metals. However, as the authors noted, “Since it is the first nationally systematic consideration of rural domestic water quality, there is no direct verification of its findings in previous work” (Francis et al. 1982:5). Consequently, they cautioned that while the results were “startling, they must be kept in perspective,” since “widespread water-related health problems were not apparent throughout the rural U.S.” (1982:9). Despite the report’s cautions, the lead paragraph of a *New York Times* news story set the stage for

the rest of the article: “Sixty-three percent of rural Americans, nearly 39 million people, drink water that could be unsafe, according to a Congressionally mandated study released yesterday” (“National Rural Water” 1982).



While it may have produced the longest report, Joe’s water study was not the only research on natural resources in the Department. Other research in the 1980s included Chuck Geisler’s continuing work on “issues of use, ownership and control of land resources” (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:38). In a chapter titled “The Quiet Revolution in Land Use Control Revisited,” Geisler examined how changes in land control were “part of a larger alienation of property rights between social classes” that has been disproportionately borne by certain groups, including indigenous peoples (1980). His co-edited book *Land Reform, American Style* brought together a series of voices examining land issues and land ownership in the U.S. (Geisler and Popper 1984). He was also part of a 5-year assessment of land use in the Adirondacks funded by the Governor of New York State (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:193; Geisler 1985; “Cornell Studies” 1985), among many others (e.g. Geisler et al. 1982).

For those whose interests lay in environmental issues, the Rural Sociological Society and its interest group “provided an organizational environment that has given legitimacy to those scholars who have worked outside of conventional sociological paradigms and venues,” and the RSS’s Natural Resources Research Group (NRRG) “served as a respectable forum for wildcard ideas” (Field and Burch 1988:xv-xiv; xv). Members of the group also played a role in establishing the Environment Section of the American Sociological Association (ASA) and environment-related sessions at the Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP) (Burch and Wade 1985; Field and Burch 1988).

Reflecting on developments since the 1960s, Burch and Wade noted that “the free-booting entrepreneurial spirit could use some more sense of collective responsibility both in the accumulation of knowledge and a greater ability to define theoretically relevant research problems” (1985:94).¹¹ They were not alone. Along with its formalization within other professional associations, so too came a vision that environmental sociology should integrate larger, more theoretical questions (e.g. Buttel 1987). Over the decade, interests in environmental issues began to be distinguished from those in natural resources (Dunlap and Catton 2002). Although they both still shared a common interest in how “social systems interact with ecosystems” (Field and Burch 1988:xi),

NEW DIRECTIONS IN ENVIRONMENTAL SOCIOLOGY

Frederick H. Buttel

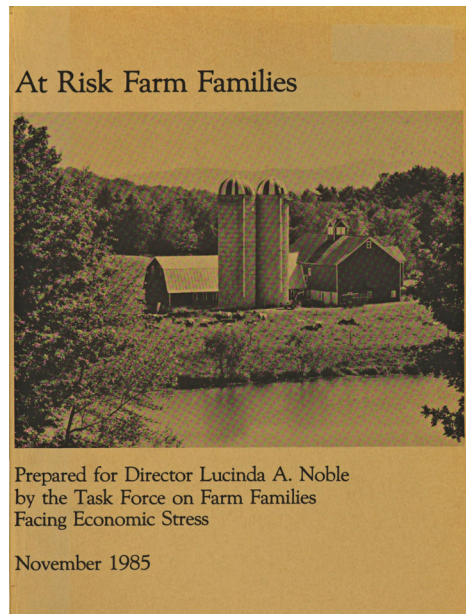
Department of Rural Sociology, Warren Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York
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rural households” across the U.S. (Francis et al. 1982:2).

11 In his recounting of the early years of the journal *Society and Natural Resources*, Rabel Burdge coined the term “twigging” to capture how, as a field grows, it “twigs” or branches off. Reflecting the permeability of boundaries in new areas with overlapping interests, Burdge questioned if the journal’s sponsorship of an issue focused on “The Policies and Politics of Sustainable Agriculture” should have been left to others (1999:185).

the area of environment turned to addressing larger, more systemic, and theoretical issues (Buttel 1987), while natural resource interests retained their strong ties to application and practice (Belsky 2002; Dunlap and Canton 2002; Field and Burch 1988; Field, Luloff, and Krannich 2013).

Just as the areas of environment and natural resources grew during these years, so too would agriculture address new challenges. When *Rural Society in the U.S.: Issues for the 1980s* was written at the start of the decade, the editors noted that, while it represented new and emerging areas for research, at such an early point in the decade only those who were prescient could see the future (Dillman and Hobbs 1982b:420). By mid-decade, the farm financial crisis proved the editors right.



While the farm crisis of the 1980s hit the Midwest the hardest (e.g. Brooks, Stucker, and Bailey 1986; [Falk and Deseran] 1986), New York farmers were not left untouched. In 1985, Director of Cornell Cooperative Extension Lucinda Noble established the Task Force on Farm Families Facing Financial Stress (Taskforce 1985). Members included Harold Capener and Eileen Stommes (PhD 1978), who was a consultant for the New York State Department of Agriculture and Markets at the time. As part of their actions and recommendations, the Task Force invited rural sociologists Bill and Judy Heffernan from the University of Missouri to share the results of their research on the farm crisis.¹²

Following the Task Force, New York State Cooperative Extension set up the *FarmNet* hotline, and the Department's annual Social Trends and Outlook Conference for Extension included Harold Capener's talk on the impacts of the farm crisis on families in New York ("The Human Cost" 1986; "FarmNet Number" 1986). The Rural Sociological Society also responded, including a special issue of the *Rural Sociology* journal in

which Tom Lyson, newly hired from Clemson University, asked "Who Cares About the Farmer? Apathy and the Current Farm Crisis" (Lyson 1986).¹³

Having joined Gould Colman's farm family interviewing project (Colman 2014), Harold Capener drew on his interviews to examine the impacts of the farm crisis on New York farm families. His research was carried in local newspapers (e.g. "Farm Families in Trouble" 1986), as was his advice to farmers to find a lawyer should they be in trouble ("Find the Right Lawyer" 1986). Illustrating how the crisis did not just impact farmers but the whole farm family, in one instance, Capener's advice was carried in the home economics section of the local newspaper ("Homemakers Corner" 1986). He was also part of the "first major ecumenical seminar in the upstate New York area for churches about the farm crisis" ("Farm Issues Topic" 1986:11).

Find The Right Lawyer For Farm Bankruptcy	
The human cost of the farm crisis	
By LARRY N. DAVIS (Cornell Extension Specialist)	farm, what machinery costs, how commodity prices
FarmNet number well received	
(Cornell University)	"We've had a call from a

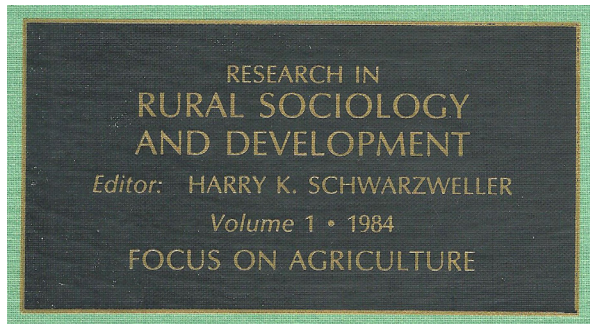
Even before the farm crisis hit, interest in agriculture had been growing within rural sociology. Published more than 30 years later, Bill Friedland noted how informal meetings held at RSS conferences in the late 1970s had drawn together burgeoning interests (Friedland 2010).¹⁴ Not long after, the group formed what would become

12 For more on Bill and Judy Heffernan, including their work on the farm crisis, see Heffernan and Heffernan (1986) and Kleiner and Green (2009).

13 While the publication date is 1986, Lyson had just been hired into the Department (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:214) and the article uses his new institutional affiliation.

14 Bill Friedland had previously been a professor at Cornell in ILR and had worked with the migrant farm labor during the 1960s. In 1969, he joined the faculty at the University of California, Santa Cruz. For more, see his oral history interview at <https://library.ucsc.edu/reg-hist/community-studies-and-research-for-change-an-oral-history-with-william-friedland>

The 1980s



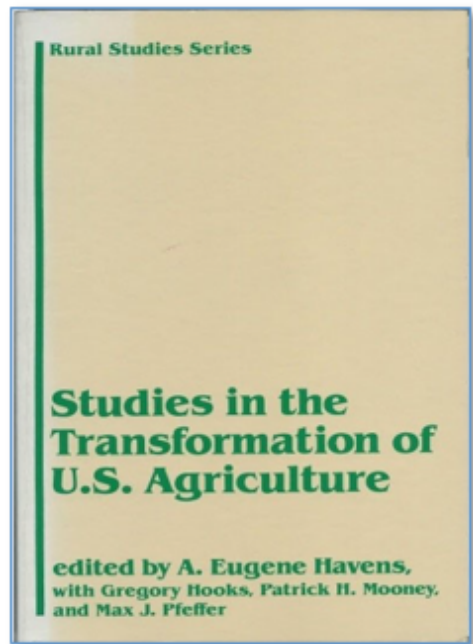
the Sociology of Agriculture Interest Group (SAFRIG) within the RSS. Organizing pre-conference field trips, SAFRIG would often take participants beyond the walls of the conference hotel to learn firsthand about agricultural issues in the surrounding area.

As the decade progressed, attention to the sociology of agriculture grew with a “surprisingly rapid and remarkably effective surge of interest” (Schwarzweller 1984:ix). Papers related to agriculture increased quickly at RSS conferences, as did

articles in *Rural Sociology* and *The Rural Sociologist* (Schwarzweller 1984:xi-xii). The rapid increase of interest led to agriculture being the focus of Volume 1 of the new book series *Research in Rural Sociology and Development* published by JAI Press. PhD alum Harry Schwarzweller (PhD 1958) served as the series’ editor.¹⁵ In his introduction, Schwarzweller wrote: “The Sociology of Agriculture is most assuredly poised on the threshold of an exciting new era” (1984:xii).

Bringing together multidisciplinary interests in agriculture, *Agriculture and Human Values* published its first issue in 1984 and included a brief piece co-authored by alum Larry Busch (PhD 1974) (Busch and Lacy 1984). The next year, the publication began its shift from a newsletter to an academic journal. Opening the new venture was Cornelia Flora (PhD 1970) co-editing its special issue on women and agriculture (Flora and Haynes 1985:1).¹⁶ Two years later, a new professional association called the Agriculture, Food, and Human Values Society was formed with its first slate of officers, which included Fred Buttel as council member and Larry Busch (PhD 1974) who served as the Society’s first president (Haynes [2002]).

Even as interest in agriculture grew, it was markedly different from that of earlier generations. The “sociology of agriculture study group” formed by Gene Havens in the late 1970s, for instance, specifically examined U.S. agriculture from a Marxist perspective (Flinn 1986:xi).¹⁷ As Friedland recounted, the informal group that he attended had a “continuing preoccupation” with “the fate of family or small-scale farming” (2010:86).



In 1980, Cornell University Archivist Gould Colman joined the Department on a part-time basis to complete his longstanding oral history of research on the family farm, its challenges, and its persistence (Dept. of Rural

15 The *Research in Rural Sociology and Development* book series with JAI Press was one of the many new publication outlets that began in the 1980s. Each volume of the series brought together authors focused on a particular topic. In addition to the book focused on agriculture, several others were published in the 1980s, including a volume focused on community (Fear and Schwarzweller 1985) and “Third World Contexts” (Schwarzweller 1987). With Bill Falk, Tom Lyson co-edited the 1989 volume on labor markets (Falk and Lyson 1989). Like the Rural Sociological Society’s Rural Studies Series and the many new journals initiated during the decade, the *Research in Rural Sociology and Development* series continues today with Emerald Press.

16 Growing interests in agriculture included the role of women. In the Department, for instance, Chuck Geisler and two graduate students extended his analysis of agricultural land ownership to examine changing patterns of women’s farmland ownership (Geisler, Waters, and Eadie 1985), and Tom Lyson examined the gendered impacts of industrial change (1989a) and female farmers in the U.S. and New Zealand (1990).

17 In honor of the Department’s 50th anniversary, Gene Havens’ 1965 article published in *Rural Sociology* was selected for the “Cornell Rural Sociology Essay Award.” Using a selection committee, articles published between January 1, 1965, and March 31, 1966, were considered (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1968). Havens’ article was the published version of his dissertation (Flinn 1984, 1986).



Gould Colman

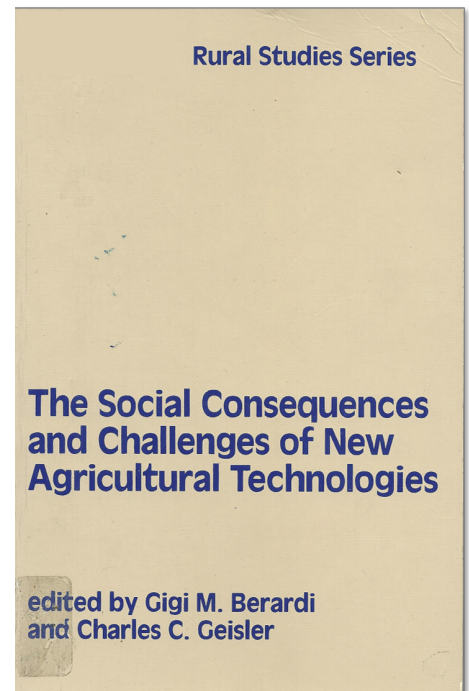
Sociology 1980:1). Initially begun in 1966, and operating on a shoe-string budget (Colman 2014:2), Gould examined the family farm from the inside, and how it “continued to thrive in an increasingly industrialized milieu” (Colman 2014:1; 1987). Over the years, the study produced multiple family case studies (e.g. Colman 1975), “591 typed and indexed interviews” (Colman and Ebert 1984:76) filling 21,646 pages (Colman 2014:2), as well as stacks of farm financial statements and correspondence. In the 1982 Department holiday letter, Gene Erickson referred to Gould’s project as certainly “one of the most significant oral history projects in the country” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1982:2).¹⁸

Along with an interest in the persistence of the family farm came attention to land, agricultural production, and the impact of new technology. With agricultural land ownership changing (“Farm Part Ownership Growing” 1984), in the inaugural issue of the *Journal of Rural Studies*, Jack Kloppenberg (PhD 1985) and Chuck Geisler re-examined the idea of an agricultural ladder developed by an older generation. Instead of rising on a ladder to full owners, they found that contemporary changes in agricultural land ownership was seeing more and more part owners (Kloppenbergs and Geisler 1985).¹⁹

Other Department research on agriculture included Gil Gillespie’s collaborations with Fred Buttel (e.g. Gillespie and Buttel 1983; 1989a). Among other issues, together they published articles examining farmer attitudes towards alternative agricultural practices in the newly formed *American Journal of Alternative Agriculture* (Gillespie and Buttel 1989b; Buttel and Gillespie 1988; Buttel, Gillespie, Janke, Caldwell, and Sarrantonio 1986). In addition, new faculty member Tom Lyson was just beginning a new study of dairy farming in Western New York (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:42).

The impacts and role of biotechnology in agriculture, such as genetic engineering, was also on the minds of many in the Department, including both faculty and graduate students. Bringing together major works by an array of social scientists, Chuck Geisler co-edited *The Social Consequences and Challenges of New Agricultural Technologies*, which was the third book published as part of the Rural Sociological Society’s new Rural Studies Series (Berardi and Geisler 1984; Goudy 2006a).

Among his many works on the topic, Fred Buttel joined with graduate students and used biotechnology as a lens to examine linkages between industry and universities, as well as its restructuring impacts on agriculture (e.g. Buttel et al. 1984). In an issue of *BioScience* published by the American Institution of Biological Sciences, Chuck Geisler and Melanie DuPuis (PhD 1991) extended lessons garnered from the green revolution to biotechnology (DuPuis and Geisler 1988). Also with graduate students, Geisler addressed issues of equity in one of the commissioned background papers for the Office of Technology Assessment’s (OTA) report on technology and land productivity (Geisler et al. 1982; OTA 1982; “Productivity of U.S. Farms Questioned” 1981).²⁰



As interests in agriculture grew, so too did a new and different perspective – one that positioned agriculture

18 In addition to being University Archivist, Gould Colman authored the history of the CALS college (1963). An interview with Gould is available on the Cornell ecommons website: “Barry B. Adams talks with Gould Colman.” May 10, 2013. <https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/33374>

19 Two years later, Chuck Geisler began his term of many years on the editorial board for the *Journal of Rural Studies* ([no author] 1987).

20 For a different report for the OTA, this time on technology and agriculture, Buttel joined Mark Lancelle and David Lee on a background paper assessing changing farm structure (Buttel, Lancelle, and Lee 1988).

within broader analyses of capitalism.²¹ In 1984, the Research Committee on Sociology of Agriculture and Food (RC40) began as a working committee in the International Sociological Association (RC40 2014). The group self-consciously distinguished itself by emphasizing “the totality of the processes of production and distribution of food and their relationship to society” (Bonanno 1991:10). Department alum Larry Busch (PhD 1974) served as the group’s first Chair (RC40 2014).

International Development

International work had been a focus for faculty in the Department from nearly its beginning. Just a small sampling of the countries mentioned in the annual holiday letters during the 1980s included Indonesia, China, Ecuador, the Philippines, Mexico, Colombia, and Bangladesh. International work by those in the Department included Harold Capener, who served as Director of the Rural Development Training Institute in Liberia (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1981:5), Walt Coward was in Indonesia with the Ford Foundation (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1981:4), and Frank Young conducted field research in Tunisia (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1981:14).

Department faculty were also involved in the broad network of international programs at Cornell – both those that were new, as well as those that had been longstanding. Shelley Feldman, for example, became Associate Director of the Program on International Development and Women when it was founded in 1987 (“Cornell Program” 1997). Established in 1950, the Southeast Asia Program’s second issue of its new Bulletin introduced Walt Coward to those in their program ([SEAP] 1983:4). Walt went on to serve as the College’s Director of International Programs in Agriculture from 1987-89 (Zuidema 2013:15). In addition, both faculty and graduate students played integral roles in the International Agriculture Rural Development Committee (e.g. Cohen and Uphoff 1977; Rural Development Committee [1982]:102-106).²²

While international work in the Department carried on, theoretical perspectives on international development had been changing. As the 1970s saw development move away from functionalism and modernization processes that are internal to nations, new approaches such as dependency and world systems recast development at a supra-national level. However, as Booth (1985) argued, conceptual work in the 1980s stalled as macro Marxist theories of international change reached an impasse (Schuurman 1993; Sklair 1988; Vandergeest and Buttel 1988; Viterna and Robertson 2015).

During this period, these theoretical shifts were evident in the Department, as graduate students began to embrace the political-economic perspective and choose faculty advisors whose work was shaped and motivated by political economy. As functionalism and modernization theory lost scholarly leverage in the Department during this time, even demographers who joined the Department at the end of the decade focused their work on political economic issues, such as uneven spatial development, gender and development, and the determinants of poverty and inequality.²³

Even as theoretical approaches to development moved beyond modernization within national boundaries, agriculture was still often seen in nationalist terms – as pre-capitalist vestiges or as a sign of “underdevelopment” (Friedmann 1983:113-4). In 1989, Harriet Friedmann and Phil McMichael

built on Friedmann’s concept of food regime (1982, 1987) and offered an alternative, which moved agriculture

AGRICULTURE AND THE STATE SYSTEM

The rise and decline of national agricultures, 1870 to the present

HARRIET FRIEDMANN* and PHILIP McMICHAEL* *

21 New areas in the sociology of agriculture during this time also included research on agricultural commodity systems, such as the analysis of lettuce production in *Manufacturing Green Gold* (Friedland, Barton, and Thomas 1981; Buttel 1989).

22 Among the internationally focused programs at Cornell, the end of the decade saw the establishment of the Cornell International Institute of Food, Agriculture, and Development (CIIFAD) as a university-wide effort (International Programs [nd]). For more, see Norm Uphoff’s oral history interview (Uphoff and Levine 2013). <https://hdl.handle.net/1813/33730> For a history of the early years of Southeast Asia Program (SEAP), see Kahin (2007).

23 Thank you to David Brown for this insight.

away from its “conceptual subordination” (Friedmann 1983:115) to one that saw agriculture as playing a role in the historical formations of global political economies (Friedmann and McMichael 1989; McMichael 2009). This approach meant seeing nations as not just existing within an inter-national system, but that the system itself influenced and affected national social formations. Examining the pre-figuring impacts of the global system, Friedmann and McMichael introduced the concept of global food regimes as a way not only to address a global scale, but one that also accounted for change in a way that included agriculture (1989).²⁴

Despite macro-theoretical developments or impasses, challenges to development conceptualizations were being concretized on the ground where development policy, projects, and strategies faced issues such as equity and differential impacts. Research by Walt Coward on irrigation in South and Southeast Asia serves as but one example. Walt served as coordinator for the Cornell Irrigation Studies Group as part of a USAID-funded multi-university effort. Speaking of the group in his holiday letter, Walt noted how the funding provided “an excellent opportunity for us to continue to be on the cutting-edge of a number of important trends in irrigation development world wide” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1982:6).



Walt Coward

Walt conducted multiple studies and consultancies on water use in irrigation (e.g. Coward 1984; Coward, Johnson, and Walter 1988), placing it within the context of issues such as equity, fairness, and the importance of local ownership and control (e.g. Coward 1980).²⁵ Reflecting the approach to development projects of “putting people first” (Cerne 1985), Walt wrote that “Irrigation development, while contributing to productivity, frequently thwarts social justice – it either introduces incipient inequalities in access or it reinforces those that exist” (1988:61).

Another area concretized by grounded development experience was women in international development. Building on Boserup (1970) and encounters with the green revolution, women’s experiences challenged development theory and practice (e.g. Parpart, Connelly, and Barriteau 2000; Rathgeber 1990; Razavi and Miller 1995).²⁶ As a result, women’s economic roles were

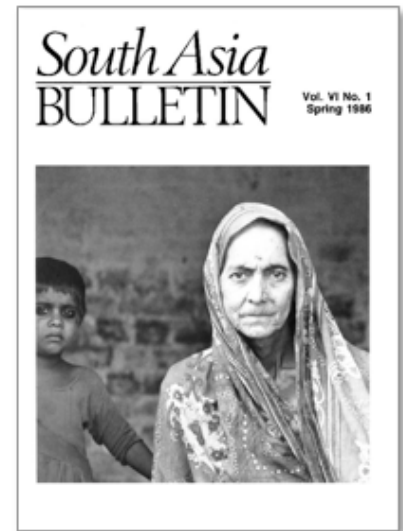
brought to the fore and research included examining how development excluded women, marginalized women’s economic participation, and how implicit assumptions about women could further undermine their status and roles.²⁷ Theorizing about women/gender and development saw new research areas grow and develop, including women’s roles in agriculture, women as economic actors, and the impacts of development on poverty.

In the Department, Shelley Feldman brought a focus on women to international development. Like the emergence of Women in Development (WID), Feldman’s work was informed by her experiences with international development organizations in Bangladesh. Continuing her collaborative work with Florence McCarthy, Shelley examined issues such as women’s roles in international development and the intersection of class and gender in framing both women’s struggles and strategies in South Asia (Feldman and McCarthy 1986, 1987, 1988; McCarthy and Feldman 1988). As part of the College’s International Agriculture Program, Shelley assessed

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- 24 Since its publication, “Agriculture and the State System: The Rise and Fall of National Agricultures, 1870 to the Present” (Friedmann and McMichael 1989) has been cited nearly 800 times and initiated a turn in the sociology and political economy of agriculture (Buttel 2001).
 - 25 Patricia Garrett’s work – as part of the USAID’s Bean/Cowpea Collaborative Research Support Program (e.g. 1984, 1985) and farming systems research (1983a, 1983b, 1988) – was in a similar vein.
 - 26 Inspiration for the UN Decade for Women is attributed to Boserup (Turner and Fischer-Kowalskic 2010). The UN Decade that came to a close in 1985 had brought women’s issues and differing perspectives about women’s roles and status to an international arena, including their role in development (e.g. Chen 1995; Ghodsee 2010; Tinker and Jaquette 1987).
 - 27 Following on WID (Women in Development) came other approaches with more critical perspectives. WAD (Woman and Development) and GAD (Gender and Development) moved from integrating women into existing projects to understanding their relationship to development, and began focusing on constructions of gender within larger processes of social change (e.g. Koczberski 1998; Parpart, Connelly, and Barriteau 2000; Rathgeber 1990; Razavi and Miller 1995).

women's roles in Bangladeshi livestock production (Feldman, Banu, and McCarthy 1986). With Lourdes Benería, in 1988, Shelley organized the Ford Foundation-funded conference at Cornell titled "Economic Crisis, Household Survival Strategies and Women's Work" (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:183).

When the Women in International Development Program began at Cornell in 1985, Shelley Feldman coordinated and directed its establishment. Supported by the College, the front page of the *Cornell Chronicle* announced the new program: "By adding women to the agenda of international development," Shelley was quoted, "we hope to become more sensitive to what women do and how new knowledge and extension programs can help them" ("Women in International Development" 1985:1). Describing the program for *The Rural Sociologist*, Shelley wrote: "The program in gender relations and rural change focuses on the integration of courses, seminars, and collaborative research undertaken by faculty and students in the social and productive/technical sciences" (Feldman 1985:390).²⁸



Community and Regional Development

Tracing back to the Department's first research publication (Sanderson and Thompson 1923), the importance of rural issues and locality framed much of the Department's work. During the 1980s, work in this area was referred to as the "Community and Regional" emphasis area (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]).

In 1988, Paul Eberts wrote in his holiday letter, "Many rural places, especially the hill counties in New York, are experiencing considerable stress ... We're recommending some new state-aid formulas to assist them out of their stresses..." (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1988:7). The project to which Paul referred was the NE-151 USDA-Regional Research Project: "Fiscal Austerity and Its Consequences in Local Governments" (Eberts 1985). When the Regional Rural Development Centers were established in the 1970s, with support from each university's Agriculture Experiment Station, regional and rural development-oriented USDA research committees and projects were set up. These groups brought together research faculty at land-grant universities in each region to focus on multi-state issues. Like the NE-68 "Paths Out of Poverty" in the 1970s (e.g. Converse and Ashby 1979; Stockdale 1973), in the 1980s, Paul led the regional effort to address the impacts of local fiscal stress.

Focused on New York, Paul's work assessed local conditions and developed concepts for the effort (e.g. Eberts and Khawaja 1987). The results included producing two chapters in the first issue of another JAI Press book series, *Research in Urban Policy* (Eberts 1985; Eberts and Kelly 1985). The book was edited by Terry Nichols Clark at the University of Chicago, who helped establish the Fiscal Austerity and Urban Innovation (FAUI) project focusing on local government finance (Clark 1988). As part of the international network of teams, Clark wrote, "Paul Eberts is coordinating surveys of counties and smaller municipal governments" (Clark 1988:96).

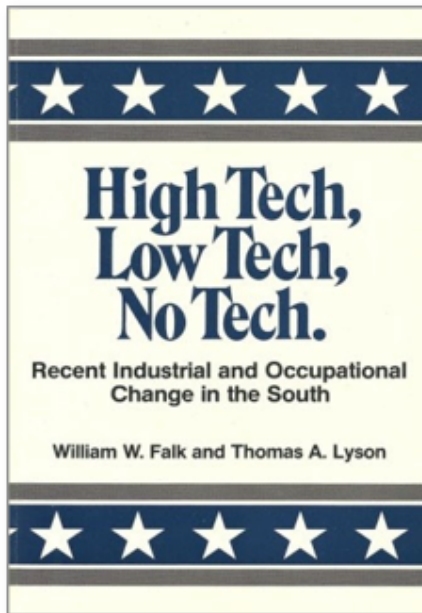
Other research focused on New York state was Ruth Young's 5-year project (e.g. R. Young 1979; 1986) that tracked and explained the social and political factors important in New York's changing economic structure, especially manufacturing industry in 52 upstate counties" (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1980:12). In other work with Joe Francis (e.g. Young and Francis 1989), Ruth's research took her all across the state. "I never got sick of talking to industrial developers," she wrote, "but I have had a belly full of motels and motel food" (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1987:7). News of her findings was carried by both the UPI (e.g. "State's Economy Adapts" 1984) and the

**Businesses No Longer Settling
In Cities; Head For Countryside**

28 In 1987, Shelley Feldman was elected to the Women's Studies Executive Board ("21 Elected" 1987). Not long after the first women's studies program at San Diego State University, women's studies at Cornell began in the 1970s (e.g. Boxer 2002; Crouch 2012; Ginsberg 2008; Howe 2000). For more, see the article on its 40th anniversary in the *Cornell Chronicle* ("Women's Studies at Cornell" 2009).

Associated Press (e.g. “Industry Not Tied to Cities” 1986; “New Firms Not Tied to Aging Cities” 1986).²⁹

As Gene Erickson noted in his 1986 holiday letter, the hope was that hiring both Tom Hirschl and Tom Lyson would build a complementarity in work “regarding the significant changes occurring in rural America in the 1980s and onward” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1986:1).³⁰ Not long after Lyson’s arrival, his influential book *Two Sides to the Sunbelt: The Growing Divergence Between the Rural and Urban South* hit the shelves (1989b). In collaboration with Bill Falk, they also published *High Tech, Low Tech, No Tech: Recent Industrial and Occupational Change in the South* (1988), which was part of the SUNY Press series called The New Inequalities.



Volume 4 of the JAI Press’ book series *Research in Rural Sociology and Development* was co-edited by Falk and Lyson as well (1989). Focused on rural labor markets, among the articles and author names was David Brown, who co-wrote the book’s closing contribution on rural economic policy in the U.S. (D. Brown and Deavers 1989). Tom Hirschl was there too; he coauthored an article on the impacts of right-to-work legislation (Hirschl, Summers, and Bloomquist 1989). In his 1986 holiday letter, Hirschl noted how his collaboration with Lyson had actually begun even before Lyson’s arrival from Clemson (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1986:3-4).

For Tom Hirschl, the late 1980s saw the first publication of what would become a 40-year collaboration with Mark Rank on the determinants of poverty and utilization of anti-poverty services (Rank, Hirschl, and Foster 2014:179). In 1988, they published “A Rural-Urban Comparison of Welfare Exits” (Rank and Hirschl 1988). It was just the first of what would be many co-authored articles, and it would be widely cited for many years to come.

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A Rural-Urban Comparison of Welfare Exits: The Importance of Population Density

Mark R. Rank and Thomas A. Hirschl
*Department of Sociology, Washington University,
St. Louis, Missouri 63130*
*Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University,
Ithaca, New York 14853*

Changing Directions in Extension

Even though faculty outreach had never been limited to Cooperative Extension, the 1980s began with more Department resources specific to Extension than it would have 10 years later.³¹ As noted in the Department’s review: “A decade ago, it could be accurately stated that the department’s resources, including faculty FTEs, were divided nearly equally among teaching, research, and extension” (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:5). By the 1989 review, the previous 4.49 FTE in Extension had declined to just 1.19 FTE (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:137).³²

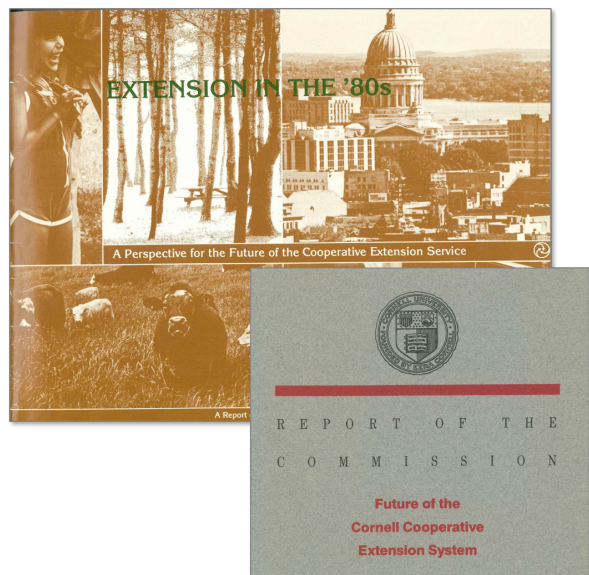
29 Near the end of the 1980s, Ruth Young’s article in the *American Journal of Sociology* “Is Population Ecology a Useful Paradigm for the Study of Organizations?” received scholarly attention (R. Young 1988). The article not only elicited rebuttal and comment (Freeman and Hannan 1989; Brittain and Wholey 1989; R. Young 1989), it became part of the literature and debates (e.g. Singh 1990). Today, Ruth’s article has been cited more than 200 times in a wide range of research and journals, including management, leadership, sociology, organization studies, and education.

30 The third person in Gene’s trio was Bruce Bower. However, that year, Bruce left the Department to do international work.

31 At some point during the 1980s, New York State Cooperative Extension became called Cornell Cooperative Extension.

32 Perhaps marking larger trends even in the Rural Sociological Society, those with Extension appointments only comprised about 20% of the membership (Willits and Ghelfi 1988). The authors of the survey of RSS members conducted near the end of the decade questioned the low percentage asking: “Does this mean that there are actually very few rural sociologists who work in extension activities or, does it mean that those who are engaged in extension do not find the RSS to be relevant to their professional needs and interests” (Willits and Ghelfi 1988:306). Either could have been correct as Extension played an important role in establishing the Community Development Society (Cary 1989). Formed in the late 1960s, for some it became an alternative professional organization for those involved in community development.

The 1980s



The Department was not alone. Nationally, Cooperative Extension in the 1980s saw several assessments (e.g. Braun 1995; Futures Taskforce [1987]; Patton 1988; USDA/NASULGC Joint Committee 1983), with Cornell conducting their own assessment (Fleming 1987). In his annual report, Dean David Call noted “At Cornell, there is a trend for faculty effort distribution to decline in the Extension function, and for Extension program leadership and support to be provided by professional staff rather than faculty. This trend of the past decade, now accelerated, compromises the important involvement of faculty in off-campus programs of the college. We are evaluating alternatives for dealing with this matter” (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1989:7).

Just as Extension was changing, so too would it change in the Department. When the 1980s began, there were three faculty who held primary Extension foci. But by decade’s end, as each

retired, none of the work was replaced. Of the three, Gordon Cummings was the first. Cummings had long been doing work on rural leadership through Extension (Eberts, Young, and Erickson [2005]). In addition to leadership (e.g. Cummings 1970), Gordon’s work also included a focus on health (e.g. D.R. Brown, Andrezejewski, and Cummings 1972) and on public issues of education through “Operation Advance” (e.g. Cummings and Harp 1964; Harp and Cummings 1968; Harrington 1962; Lutz 1962).³³ Although “Operation Advance” had been identified as the first “formal” program in “Community Resource Development” in the 1987 assessment of Cornell Cooperative Extension (Fleming 1987:15), when Cummings retired in 1983, no replacement was hired to continue the work.

In the first half of the decade, Bernice Scott conducted work in youth leadership development through 4-H (“Family Fun” 1980; “How to Pick” 1983). While not attributed with her name as author, Bernice wrote and worked with her popular “Heritage and Horizons” series (Campbell et al. 2011; Dept. of Rural Sociology 1984; Larson, Preston, and Cummings 1985; Warren 1987; “4-H Programs” 1985). Bernice continued to work with 4-H camps and in 1983, she chaired the Upstate New York Camp Conference co-sponsored by NY Cooperative Extension and the American Camping Association (“Summer Camp Conference” 1983). The next year, the American Camping Association presented her with a leadership award (Larson, Preston, and Cummings 1985:2).

In 1985, leadership work in the Department took a new turn when Jim Preston established the Empire State Food and Agricultural Leadership Institute in collaboration with the New York State Agricultural Society (New York State Agricultural Society [2013]; Dept. of Rural Sociology 1986:6). The program’s goal was “to ensure that there will be high quality industry leaders to perpetuate the long-term social and economic well-being of New York State’s agricultural industries” (“First Class Selected” 1985:6a; “State Food and Agricultural Leadership Institute Formed” 1985). Thirty participants, out of nearly 100 applicants, were selected for the 2-year program’s pilot year. At its conclusion, the program’s advisory group assessed the program, decided it should continue, and a second class of 30 was recruited (“Ag Institute to Continue” 1987).³⁴ When Jim retired the following year, responsibility for the Empire State Food and Agricultural Leadership Institute program moved



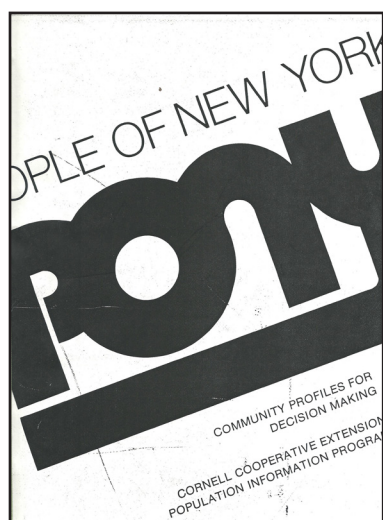
James Preston

33 To hear Gordon Cummings, an interview recorded in 1997 is available on YouTube: https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=Tp_POg5HnIQ.

34 For the New York State Agricultural Society, the decision to create the Institute is still seen as one “that continually reaps benefits for members of the agricultural community and NY agriculture” (Bitz 2012:4).

outside of the Department (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1987:2-3).³⁵ Today, some 30 years later, the program, now called LEAD New York, is not only still running, but is also extremely influential (New York State Agricultural Society [2013]; Bitz 2012).

“To date I’ve not heard that a Youth Leadership Extension position has been filled in the Department” wrote Bernice Scott. “But,” she continued, “I’m hopeful that the needs of many young people of New York will be supported” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1984:12). Two years later, Jim Preston simply said that the Department would be “considering future extension program [directions] and staffing needs” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1986:4). Despite their hopes and successes, with the loss of funding and personnel, leadership and leadership programs would no longer be counted among the Department’s Extension emphases. As the Department review noted: “Attrition and the inability of the administration to approve continuation of extension positions has significantly affected our ability to provide programs” (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:25). With only 8% of the Department’s total distribution in Extension left (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:25), work would instead coalesce around issue identification and trend analysis (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:140-141) – both of which had long roots in the Department.



Dating back to Charles Galpin and Veda Larson Turner of the USDA’s Division of Farm Population and Rural Life (Larson and Zimmerman 2003:57-58), rural sociologists were often purveyors, analysts, and advocates of county-level data on rural issues. In the Department, this type of activity had begun with Walford Anderson’s Experiment Station Bulletin, which contained historical New York population data since 1900 (Anderson 1932), and continued over the next 5 decades to include work like Joe Francis’s county profiles of housing data from the 1970 Census (Francis, Hickey, and Woodford [nd]; Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:146) and the “People of New York” or “PONY” data series begun by Olaf Larson in the early 1960s (Larson 1973; Paydarfar and Larson 1963; Preston 1982).

In the 1980s, providing data for Extension became more formalized with the Population Information Program, which was established in part with funding from the Director of Extension (Preston 1982).³⁶ Not unlike the shift in staffing mentioned by Dean Call (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1989:7), the program consisted of “two part-time departmental staff members, with a combined commitment equal to that of one full-time person – one is a social demographer, the other specializes in Extension program development and methodology” (Preston 1982:5). Working with the needs of the specific program areas, specialized data were compiled and a “People of New York” (PONY) binder for counties and regions was produced and shared (e.g. [W. Brown] 1981). The program also provided “in-service education and other help to the field staff in the interpretation and use of the population information developed...” (Preston 1982:5).

In addition to developing data profiles, the Population Information Program also provided education in the skills needed to use the data (Preston 1982). In a Department Bulletin, for instance, Paul Eberts combined providing data with information on interpreting social data in Extension (Eberts 1987). And in 1989, Tom Hirschl joined with Warren Brown in their analysis of how Extension uses demographic data (Brown and Hirschl 1989).³⁷

**census data
for decision making**

James C. Preston

35 Like the Migrant Farmworker Program, in the early 2000s LEAD also rejoined the Department but this time it was through CaRDI.

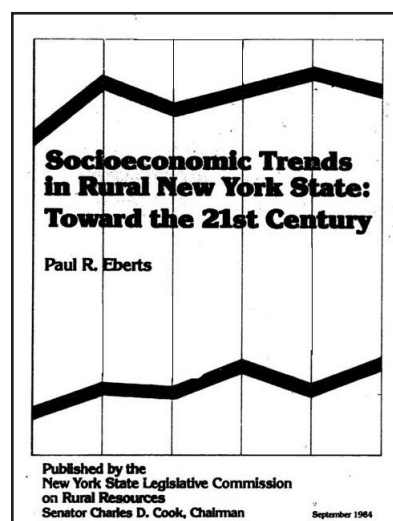
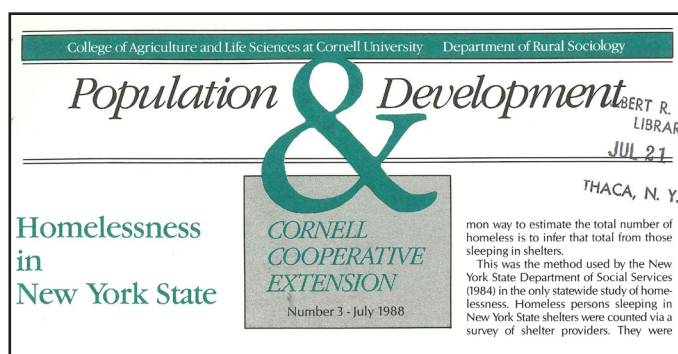
36 In addition to Jim Preston, Warren Brown and later Tom Hirschl and Mark Lancelle were involved in the Population Information Program (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1984:1; Lancelle 1985).

37 Prior to joining CISER, Warren Brown had been a graduate student and an Extension associate in the Department (PhD 1982) ([W. Brown] 1981).

Another area of ongoing work involved communicating trends and issues affecting New York State. Begun in the late 1970s, the Department's annual Social Trends and Outlook Conferences continued into the 1980s (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:148; "More Doctors" 1978). Sponsored primarily by the Department, each conference "examines a single particularly important social trend in some depth and helps agents in formulating programs to respond effectively to this trend" (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:143). As reported at the end of the decade, these conferences "reached as many as one-quarter of agents in a given year" (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:137). In addition to being in-service education for Extension, the conference that focused on the Farm Crisis, for instance, received considerable press ("The Human Cost" 1986).

When Tom Hirschl joined the faculty in 1986, he became the Director of the Department's Population Information Program (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1986:1), bringing to the position his own interests and background. Invited to be the featured speaker at the Cornell Cooperative Extension Cattaraugus County annual dinner, Tom was introduced to residents in the local paper ("Dr. Hirschl to Speak" 1988). His talk, entitled "Cattaraugus County in a Post-Industrial System," linked global trends to local issues and promised to be "broad and wide ranging, yet also practical for local leaders."

The next year, Tom established the Department's new *Population & Development* publication for Cornell Cooperative Extension – serving as editor and often author. Written in a more accessible language, the publication provided an important mechanism for disseminating social and demographic information across the state. The inaugural issue was titled "Population Aging in a Post Industrial Society: The Experience of New York State." Other issues soon followed reflecting important trends in the state, such as youth unemployment and homelessness.³⁸



Another feature of the Department's Extension work involved working with state groups and taskforces. Paul Eberts, for example, had extensive networks across the state and was frequently an invited member of the Rural Development Committee of the NYS Food and Agriculture Council (FACS) (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:143). The many decades-long relationship began in the early 1980s when the New York State Legislative Commission on Rural Resources was created in 1982. The purpose in establishing the Commission was to "promote a state-level focus and avenue for rural affairs policy and program development" in the state (Eberts 1984a:v). Bringing together those variously engaged with rural issues in the state, work began with a statewide Rural Development Symposium held October 5-7, 1983, and was followed with public hearings.³⁹

"Because of the general lack of informational resources available to public policy leaders that could provide a comprehensive view of trends underlying the strengths and problems that help shape the quality of life in New York State," the Commission invited Paul

38 While not yet identified as a series, the Population Information Program paper series also began. The first issue focused on a local housing market study in Cortland County (Hirschl 1987a), and a second reported on a survey of local youth in Steuben County (Hirschl 1987b). Soon thereafter, the Department's "Population and Development Working Paper" series became the Department's outlet (e.g. Hirschl 1987c; W. Brown and Hirschl 1989).

39 When an assessment of Extension at Cornell was conducted for President Rhodes, the report referred to the Commission as part of a "renewed interest on the part of policy makers in the private and public sector"; noting that the Commission was "identifying and addressing the problems of rural New York State" (Fleming 1987:13-14). In the 1980s, Cornell Extension also began to focus on providing Extension in metropolitan areas.

Eberts to conduct the needed assessment of demographic, social, and economic trends (Eberts 1984a:v). Even though Paul did not mention it in his 1984 holiday letter, Gene Erickson did note how the Commission had taken “a great deal of Paul Ebert’s time” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1984:1, 8). With the help of many people in the Department and elsewhere (Eberts 1984a:vii), the resulting report included 422 pages of data on social and economic conditions across the state.

Combining regions within New York into a rural/urban typology that used criteria similar to the coding schemes developed at the USDA’s Economic Research Service,⁴⁰ Paul aggregated and analyzed data for 2 types of metropolitan county areas (downstate and upstate), and rural counties were placed into 4 groups according to their level of urban influence – extensive, considerable, moderate, and limited. Focusing on variables reflecting the Commission’s specific interests, Paul’s compilation and analysis covered 36 different topic areas with maps and county group analyses for each. Data for individual counties were included in the report’s appendix.

In his forward to the report, Commission Chair Senator Charles O. Cook commended Paul for “undertaking this monumental effort on behalf of the Commission” (Eberts 1984a:v). In addition to the 1984 report, an early draft was used in the Commission’s October Symposium (Eberts 1983; 1984a:4) and a separate data book was produced (Eberts 1984b). Paul’s report was widely cited at the time, and it also received media attention (e.g. “Big City Domination,” 1984.)

Forging New Directions

At the end of the decade, longtime Cornell professor Joe Stycos moved from the Department of Sociology in the College of Arts & Sciences to Rural Sociology and brought with him the International Population Program (Stycos, Feldt, and Myers 1964). Renamed the Population and Development Program (PDP) in 1990, demography would quickly become a full-fledged area of emphasis within the Department. In an article in the *Cornell Chronicle* announcing the half million dollar Hewlitt grant to support international graduate student training, Stycos remarked on the importance of moving to the college: “The College of Agriculture and Life Sciences is mission-oriented, and international work is an important component of that mission.... Our new name symbolizes the focus on demographic problems in relation to overall economic and rural development” (“New Program” 1989).



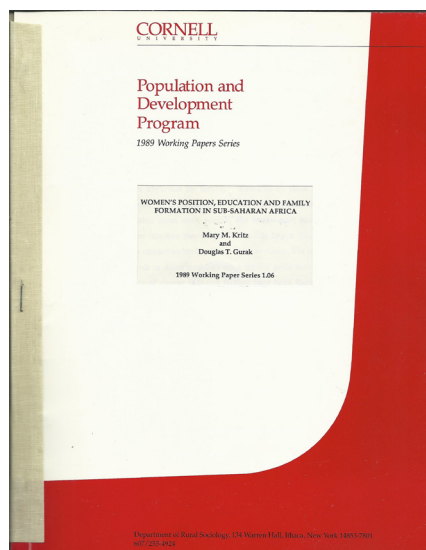
Joe Stycos

The move of Joe Stycos and his program from the Department of Sociology added “a new and distinct concentration to both the undergraduate and the graduate training programs,” and “significantly expanded the scope of the research interests of both the faculty and students” (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:5). It was also one of the few times that the Department was named in the Dean’s annual report summary (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1988:7).

Originally, the PDP offices were slated for the fourth floor of Caldwell Hall (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1989:37), but in 1989 Warren Hall became the program’s new home (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1988:3, 1989:7). Remarking on the move, Joe wrote in his holiday letter: “I have been enjoying the view on the quadrangle, a welcome relief from the years of staring at Day Hall” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1989:7).

With the addition of PDP, international work in the Department would now include a strong demographic focus. Just a sampling of the newly established Hatch Projects in the Department review reveals some of its

40 The report does not cite adapting the ERS county codes, but newspaper coverage suggests there was likely some type of collaboration in the effort (“‘Urban’ rural New York” 1983). The first coding scheme developed by the USDA’s Economic Research Service to distinguish among non-metropolitan counties was the Rural-Urban Continuum Codes in 1975 (D. Brown, Hines, and Zimmer 1975). These were then built upon by developing the Urban Influence Codes (Ghelfi, Cromartie, Lahr, and Parker 1993; Ghelfi and Parker 1997).

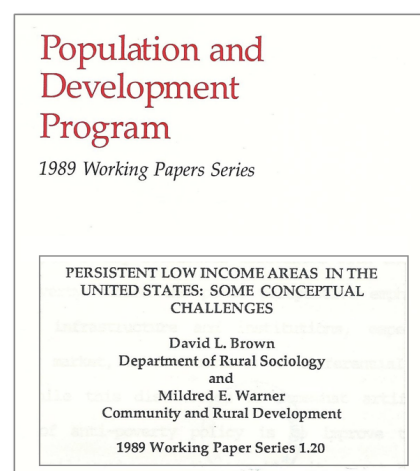


breadth (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:31-36). Joining Stycos' research on Colombian adolescents (with L. Zamudio) and the Peruvian national survey on sexuality knowledge (with C. Indacochea), for instance, was Dudley Poston's work on women's fertility in Korea, Doug Gurak's research on support networks of Dominican and Colombian immigrants, as well as Mary Kritz's investigation into changing household patterns and fertility in Nigeria (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:35).

With new faculty and a "spiritual passage to Development Sociology," Stycos predicted that "Within a year we should have one of the top demographic programs in the country" (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1989:7). In 1987, the concentration was officially added to the Development Sociology graduate field (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:104). In addition to the new resources for graduate training in demography that came with the Hewlitt award, the PDP program also increased the number of graduate students in the Department. The first PhD awarded in the new concentration came just before

the close of the decade (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:106). Not long after their arrival, Doug Gurak and Mary Kritz recounted being "part of the Cornell contingent" attending the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population in New Delhi (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1989:9).

As evidenced in the first year of the Department's new "Population and Development" working paper series, while the addition of PDP brought an international focus, domestic research was also a program priority (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1987:1). The Department's Population and Development working paper series not only contained works such as Joe Stycos' "Does Sex Education Corrupt? The Case of Costa Rica" (1989) and Mary Kritz and Doug Gurak's "Women's Position, Education and Family Formation in Sub-Saharan Africa" (1989), it also included David Brown and Mildred Warner's (1989) "Persistent Low Income Areas in the United States: Some Conceptual Challenges" and Tom Hirschl's "Homelessness: A Sociological Research Agenda" (1989).



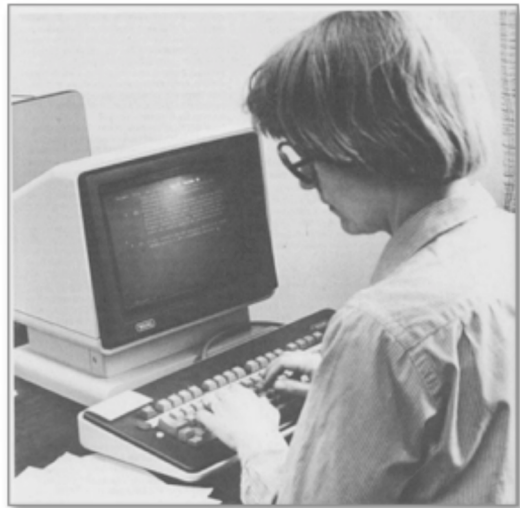
Life on Campus

The 1980s had its share of excitement, new programs, and new opportunities for life on Cornell's campus. As in other decades, Department faculty were variously involved in both college and university affairs and programs.⁴¹ CISER (Cornell Institute for Social and Economic Research), for instance, was established in 1981 "to enhance and coordinate widely dispersed research activities in the social sciences on campus" ("Urban and Regional Studies" 1983:2). Department involvement in CISER included Paul Eberts as a member of the faculty steering committee for the Program in Urban and Regional Studies (PURS) when it moved to CISER ("Urban and Regional Studies" 1983:2). Joe Francis served on the faculty advisory committee that oversaw the CISER Survey Research Facility, as well as the newly established Program on Survey Research and Analysis ("Ginsberg Directs" 1985:2).

Compared to the large mainframe computers, the desktop (or "microcomputers" as they were called then) had begun to engage many during the decade, and the adoption and changing impact on work-life in academia was

41 In 1987, CALS joined others nationwide in recognizing the centennial anniversary of the Hatch Act. Noting how it began with six departments and with less than 5% of its budget devoted to salaries, at the legislation's 100th year mark the College had more than 30 units and close to 70% of its budget going to salaries (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1988:7). In recognition of the anniversary, each unit prepared an essay for the publication *One Hundred Years of Agricultural Research at Cornell University*. Gene Erickson wrote the essay for the Department (Erickson 1987) – a copy of which is included in an Appendix to this publication.

widely evident (e.g. Dillman 1985).⁴² In a survey of college of agriculture faculty at 11 land-grant universities who were members of the Northeast Computer Institute, 65% reported access to microcomputers at work, and 75% responded that their secretaries had access (E. Brown, Connell, and Seeley 1985:[17]). While increasingly available in the workplace, and although the group surveyed worked with computers, only 22% reported having access to a microcomputer at home (E. Brown, Connell, and Seeley 1985:[17]). Even the national report, “Extension in the ‘80s,” noted the “... acceleration of the development and capacity to utilize computer technology in communication and dissemination of information ...” (USDA/NASULGC Joint Committee 1983:9).



Microcomputer use and availability increased during the 1980s. After two separate committees considered their role and application in the College, three microcomputer labs were completed in 1984 (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1980:8, 1984:7). One of the labs was located in Warren Hall, and one was in Mann Library just next door. The next year, Acting Dean Kenneth Wing wrote how “Computer literacy is now expected of all students” (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1985:7).

In the Department, Bruce Brower was the computer go-to person. In his 1985 holiday letter, Bruce humorously wrote how Cornell was “deep in the throes of the computer revolution (sometimes pronounced revulsion)” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1985:4). Still, the work was fascinating to him, writing “It is exhilarating to be swimming in the middle of this riptide” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1985:4). On campus, Brower was a co-leader of the IBM PC users group (“Computer Publications and Users Groups” 1985). In Extension, Brower developed two “mobile computer teaching” labs that served 13 counties (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1985:22), and he taught classes for farmers on how to use IBM computers (e.g. “Computers on the Farm” 1986).⁴³ In 1986, Epsilon Sigma Phi (the national honorary fraternity of Cooperative Extension) recognized Brower’s work when he was given the “College Based Award” for his work focusing on “developing computer literacy education for Cornell Cooperative Extension agents” (“Extension Fraternity Honors 4” 1986). When Bruce left the department, Jim Preston noted how his departure created “a big gap in Extension computer literacy and the utilization of computers in local government programs” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1986:4).

Faculty in the Department also engaged with issues related to computer usage. Journal articles addressed measuring inequality (Garrett, Golden, and Francis 1986), using microcomputers in rural development (F. Young, Bertoli, and Bertoli 1981), and using word processing for qualitative analysis (Gillespie 1986). Later updated in 1994, Paul Eberts wrote “Between Theory and Data: Basic Social Analyses for Interpreting Social Data Through Computerized Laboratories” (1988), and he incorporated computers into the Intro class (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1984:8).

At mid-decade, a familiar issue for some became a hot topic for a new generation. Dating back to the 1960s and a 1968 faculty resolution, there had been calls for Cornell to divest from companies with business relations in South Africa because of apartheid (University Faculty 1979-1981). In 1980 Kenneth Greisen, Dean of the Fac-

42 The impact of new technology could also be seen in groups like the Rural Sociological Society. In 1988 the editor of *The Rural Sociologist* was the first to list an email address as a means of contacting him. At the 1988-1989 midyear Council meeting, the RSS voted to include for the first time email addresses (called “BITNET” addresses) in its membership directory (Zimmerman 2012:20).

43 In the Department, Bruce’s computer skills also helped Paul Eberts with his analysis of trends in New York State, conducted for the New York State Legislative Commission on Rural Resources (Eberts 1984a:vii), and he was a research associate in charge of the data on Joe’s water study (Francis et al. 1982). On campus, Brower was also a co-leader of the IBM PC users group (“Computer Publications and Users Groups Abound on Campus” 1985).

ulty, established an ad hoc Committee on South African Investments of which Paul Eberts was a member (University Faculty 1979-1981:5118F-5119F). Issues around Apartheid in South Africa reignited and protests on campus included students

building a shanty town by Day Hall, and a federal lawsuit regarding its dismantling, a faculty referendum, and even changes to the university's public order regulations ("Divestment Protests" 1985; "Trustees Adopt" 1985; "Faculty Vote" 1985). In 1985, as Chairman of the College of Agriculture Africa Committee, Frank Young



Pro-divestment speakers conduct a trial questioning the "fitness" of Cornell's Board of Trustees to decide whether the university should divest from companies doing business in South Africa during a hearing on campus Monday night. Stories about the hearing and Friday's trustee meeting are on page 3.

900 Charged in Demonstrations Here
South Africa Divestment Is Focus

Shanty Town Down; Restraining Order Is Issued
Arguments to Be Heard In Court Here Today

was one of several faculty asked to speak during a special session of the faculty (University Faculty 1985). With 394 in attendance, the session lasted from 7:32 pm until 10:00 pm that night resulting in a 323 to 72 vote in support of a resolution calling on the University to divest from South Africa. The meeting also resulted in a call for a referendum in which 1,167 faculty would cast ballots. The resulting votes were 651 to 516 in favor of "calling on the university to sell its stocks in companies that do business in South Africa" ("Faculty Vote" 1985).

Life in Warren Hall

In addition to the new computer lab, life in Warren Hall saw the start of what would become a long-standing social hub. First discussed 2 years earlier, in 1980 the newly renovated Alfalfa Room was finally dedicated ("Warren Hall Alfalfa Room" 1978). The room for the new facility, which had previously housed 14 vending machines, became the place to eat and meet. As Dean Call saw it, since "approximately one third of the University Union's funds come from agriculture students ... they should have a lounge" ("Alfalfa Room Refurbishing" 1979). With its dedication, the Alfalfa Room became "the first student union on the east end of campus" (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1980:7).

Warren Hall Alfalfa Room To Be Changed Into Lounge

In 1983, the Department saw its own round of changes and "musical offices," as "no fewer than nine offices changed hands" that year (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1983:[1]). Some faculty had second offices outside the department, reflecting their multiple roles in the college and the university. At that time these included Jim Zuiches as Associate Director of Research, Gene Erickson as Acting Director of the Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development, and Fred Buttel as Vice Chairperson of the Biology and Society Program in the Program on Science, Technology, and Society (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1983:1).⁴⁴

Change during the 1980s was not limited to faculty and their office locations. Many of the longtime faces in Warren 134 also changed. While faculty appointments are recorded in places like the Board of Trustees, it was the Department's holiday letter tradition that told of the comings and goings of support staff during the decade. In 1986, for instance, Marge Kearl retired after 10 years in the Department and Sandy Cook joined in her stead (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1986:4). Gordon Huckle, who had been hired in the 1960s to assume some of Ann Christopher's responsibilities, retired in January 1988 (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1987:2). Neil Poppensiek took over Gordon's position as administrative manager, but only stayed for a brief time before leaving to pursue a career in teaching (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1987:2, 1988:1). Always acknowledging Ann Christopher's 25 years in the Department, as well as her role as Gordon's predecessor, in 1988 Ann Dickinson became the Department's administrative manager (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1987:2, 1988:1). Sought out by both faculty

44 When Jim Preston ended his term as Director of the Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development (NERCRD) in 1985, the Center moved to Penn State (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1985:6) where it is still located today.

and dissertationing graduate students for her talents as a meticulous editor (e.g. Godfrey 2013:78; Larson and Cummings 1967, 1979), longtime staff member Lucy Cummings retired in 1988 (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1988:1). That year, Beverly Lewis, Sandy Cook, and Pat Long also left (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1988:1). By the close of the decade, two soon-to-be-familiar names first appeared in the holiday letters: Beverly Munson and Tracy Aagaard (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1989:9).

Students and Instruction

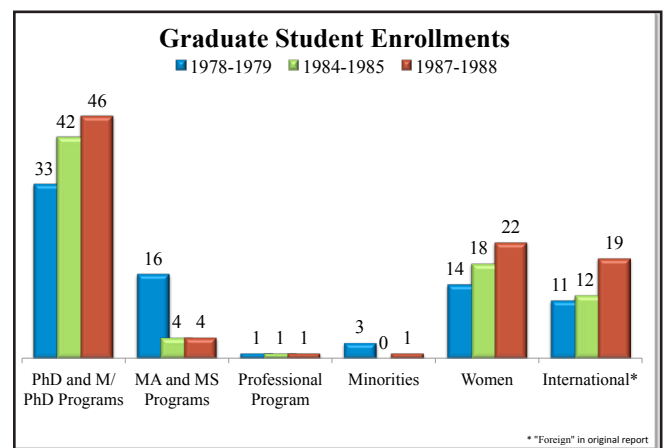
Because of low numbers of majors at its previous review, it had been recommended that the Department terminate its undergraduate major in rural sociology ([1989]:61). Even though Department faculty had historically “concentrated its efforts on graduate training,” they still bucked the recommendation. And, by the latter years of the 1980s, the number of undergraduate majors had undergone a dramatic upswing.⁴⁵ Having declined to a low of about 10 in the mid-1980s, by decade’s end the number had increased to 37 (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:58) with an expectation that it would further increase to 50 during the next 3 years (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:61).

The final holiday letter of the decade indicated that the Department was on its way to meeting that goal as Department chair Dudley Poston noted how enrollments in Department courses had increased by 118 percent in the past two years. “Specifically,” he wrote, “our intro enrollments are up 39 percent, the enrollments in all other undergrad courses are up 220 percent, and our graduate course enrollments are up 131 percent” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1989:2). The increases came in part after making changes to some of the courses, including bringing numerous faculty into the intro course, which became nicknamed “Professors on Parade” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1988:7, [1989]:61-62).

Numbers were also increasing in graduate education. Adding the Population and Development Program helped the Department maintain its enrollment close to the record level of the 1970s of 169 graduate degrees awarded. In the 1980s, there were 132 graduate degrees awarded. While below that of the previous decade, it was still the second highest number of degrees awarded up to that time.⁴⁶ As the Department review noted, the PDP program added “about 15” and increased the total to 58 graduate students (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:104).

With the PDP program, the graduate field’s students became more diverse, both with respect to gender and international status. And, as the 1980s progressed, student interests began to change: “Up to about 1985, the Community and Regional concentration dominated student interest, but after that Agriculture and Natural Resource sociology rose in popularity and began to shape student doctoral interests” (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:106).⁴⁷

By the end of the decade, 14 of the 16 “professorial-rank faculty” in the Department had teaching responsibilities comprising about 46 percent of the Department’s FTE (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:57). While most teaching by faculty was within the Department, several also taught courses outside the Department. In addition, Department course offerings included four taught in conjunction with the American Indian Program



45 The late 1980s also saw the end of the Dean’s Garden behind Warren Hall as the location for the Graduate Day breakfast. Gene described the event as “a breakfast with tables of white linen and carnelian skirts, silver coffee servers, and squirrels scampering among the crumbs” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1988:1).

46 Throughout the 1980s, the number of new graduate students enrolled continued to increase the graduate student population. Still, compared to the 16 new students admitted in 1978/1979, new enrollments for the rest of the decade averaged about 5 per year (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:105).

47 The concentration in Agriculture and Natural Resources had been added in the late 1970s (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:104).



Robert Venables

(Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:57).

The Department's association with the Cornell American Indian program dates back to the 1970s and an informal group that included Milt Barnett (American Indian Program [2016]; Dept. of Rural Sociology 1981:3). With support from Dean Call, the program got its official start in 1983 (Altschuler and Kramnick 2014:302-304; Usner 2001; "American Indian Program" 2013).⁴⁸ Of the four courses listed in Cornell's catalogue, "Issues in Contemporary American Indian Societies" was taught solely within the Department. While he was a part of the Department for only a short time (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1981), Ray Fougner taught the course for several years (Cornell University 1983:69).⁴⁹ Robert Venables taught the course when he joined the Department as a visiting associate professor in 1988 (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:82, 241). Venables soon became a Lecturer in the American Indian Program and was known for his fiery classes ("Angry Historian" 1989).

For the Department, work related to American Indian issues was not limited to instruction. For instance, Chuck Geisler co-edited a monograph on the impact of rapid resource development with Cornell History Professor and future Director of the Cornell American Indian Program Daniel Usner (Geisler, Green, Usner, and West 1982). The Department Bulletin Series also published a paper on Indigenous Land Claims, which was presented by graduate students at the 1982 Rural Sociological Society conference (Lynch, LaRamee, and Brown [1982]).

Financial Shifts and Challenges

As the 1970s drew to a close and the 1980s began, fiscal issues continued to be a widespread concern. Annual reports from Dean Call, as well as articles in the *Cornell Chronicle*, illustrated how issues that characterized the 1970s continued into the 1980s (e.g. "University Moves to Minimize Impact" 1983; "Provost Says University Must Cut" 1986; "Barker Predicting Hard Times" 1986).



In his first report of the decade, Dean Call wrote how the College had been "buffeted by the forces of inflation, rising energy costs, [and] shrinking public funding" (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1980:5). He went on to note that, even though state budgets and tuition had increased, "Faculty salaries did not keep pace with inflation" (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1980:5).⁵⁰ The *Cornell Chronicle's* headlines included reports of a proposed Federal cut to Cooperative Extension ("67% Federal Cut" 1986). As one rural sociologist aptly characterized the time: "The implicit theme of recent years of a 'program for every problem' has given way to a 'budget cut for (nearly) every program'" (Dillman 1983:84).

At the opening of the Cornell Institute for Social and Economic Research (CISER), Otto Larsen of the Na-

48 Fougner became the first Director of the American Indian Program (Cornell University 1983:202; Usner 2001:36). In 2013, the American Indian Program celebrated its 30th anniversary ("American Indian Program" 2013). Today, Department faculty Angeles Gonzalez and emeritus Charles Geisler are active in the program.

49 For one of Fougner's classes, two students conducted a local survey asking residents in the south Seneca area about the Cayuga Indian land claim ("What do you think?" 1982).

50 Changing the mandatory retirement age from 65 to 70 years old slowed turnover in the College (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1982:7). While funding for new positions was not certain, Dean Call expressed the need for new faculty so that newer areas could be addressed. The next year the state offered a "special retirement package" (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1983:7). To help stem the "shock to our system," many faculty were rehired on a part-time basis (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1983:7).

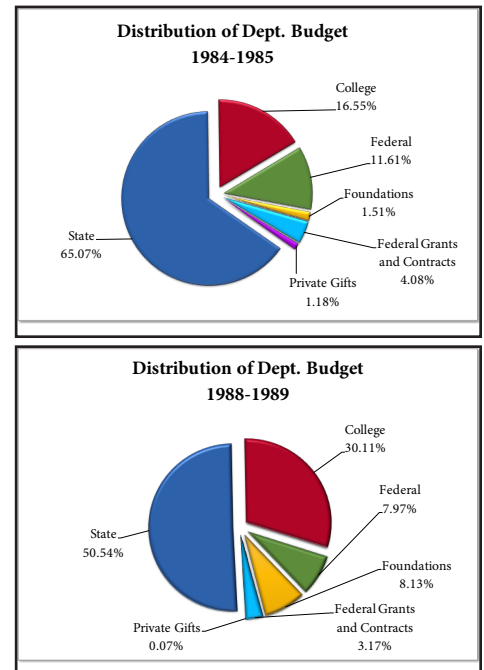
tional Science Foundation (NSF) recounted having successfully won the battle against federal funding cuts to social science programs (Chubin and McCartney 1982; “Funds are Available” 1981). With Senator William Proxmire’s first “golden fleece award,” denigrating NSF social research for its seeming triviality, in addition to President Reagan’s proposed budget, opponents marshaled forces in support of social and sociological research (e.g. Bulmer 1987; Chubin and McCartney 1982; Miller 1987).

Despite the win, funding for social research was a continuing source of concern throughout the 1980s (e.g. Chubin and McCartney 1982; Jenness 1987; Gollin 1987). In response, calls came for an increased utility of American sociology.⁵¹ As the NSF’s former Sociology Program director, Jim Zuiches, after coming to CALS and the Department, examined “the history of support and opposition to the social sciences in NSF and the collective response of the social science research community to the budget cutbacks” (1984).⁵²

For the Department, the detailed decade-end review provides a unique view into some of the financial forces of the decade and shifts in the Department (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:19-24). Even though overall funding increased during those years, along with the increase came proportionate changes in funding sources. For 1984-85, the total Department budget stood at \$1,141,793, with state funding comprising two-thirds of the monies. By 1988-1989, even though the Department’s finances had increased to \$1,676,252, state funding constituted only about half of the total. Federal sources also decreased, from 11.6% to 7.9% of Department funds. The largest increases came from the College and from increased funding through Foundation grants.

In addition to budget shifts, the 1980s saw some important private gifts and funds established in the Department with long-lasting results. In 1980, a visit from Alice Sanderson Rivoire brought good news. That year, she established the E. Dwight Sanderson Memorial Scholarship for undergraduate students in the Department. Thirty-five years later, the award is still given today as the Dwight Sanderson Excellence Award for a graduating senior.⁵³

Also in the 1980s came the start of another Department fund that continues today. It had begun as a student emergency fund that Bob Polson generously supported over the years (Larson, Taietz, and Erickson [1997]).⁵⁴ In 1989, with additional support from Olaf Larson, the fund was named the Polson-Larson Fund for Excellence



51 Articles in the pages of *The American Sociologist* emphasized both policy impacts and differing views, including those such as Moore’s “Can the Discipline Survive its Practitioners?” (1981). Even though rural sociology’s relationship to the federal government traced back much further (Larson and Zimmerman 2003), like many, Bulmer (1987) traced sociology’s relationship to government only to Hoover’s Committee on Recent Social Trends. Meanwhile, in 1989 the announcement came that the storied Department of Sociology at Washington University in St. Louis would be closed (McCartney 1989).

52 Prompted by the concern by Cornell administrators that the indirect costs associated with research were rising, before leaving in 1987, Zuiches conducted an in-depth study on the subject (Zuiches and Valley 1987). While at the NSF, Jim Zuiches was instrumental in establishing the Consortium of Social Science Associations (COSSA), which has been instrumental in protecting social science research since the 1980s. Later, Zuiches reflected on his career, including his time at Cornell, noting how CALS has a large proportion of social scientists and that a previous social scientist had already served in the position he then would occupy (1990). In 1987, Walt Coward became the Director of International Agriculture prompting Gene Erickson to comment how five of the six Deans and Directors in the College were social scientists (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1988:1).

53 Alice Sanderson Rivoire was not only Dwight Sanderson’s daughter, she was known in her own right for her national work with Girl Scouts. A 1941 Cornell graduate in Home Economics, she died in 2014. Her papers are available at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library (<https://rmc.library.cornell.edu/EAD/htmldocs/RMM02129.html>).

54 According to a plaque in the room, the Polson Seminar room in Warren Hall was named in Polson’s honor in 1982 during Harold Capener’s term as the Department’s chair. The generosity of Ruth and Bob Polson not only touched the Department, Bulletins from the South East Asia Program also recognized their support.

(Dept. of Rural Sociology 1989:2; Larson, Taietz, and Erickson [1997]).

Emeritus but not Retired

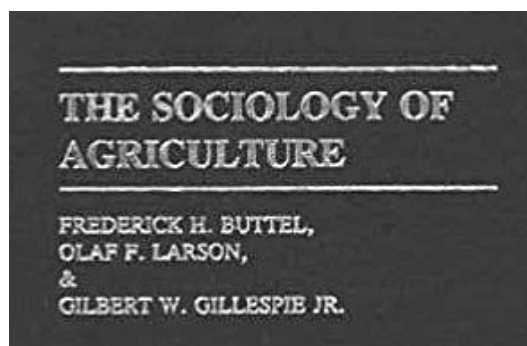
When Milt Barnett recounted in his holiday letter that he was “Emeritus, perhaps, but not yet retired,” the same should be said for other emeritus professors in the Department (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1987:6).⁵⁵ In addition to Milt, Phil Taietz’s holiday letters were filled with his many continuing professional activities, including presenting papers at professional meetings and publishing (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1981:13, 1982:11, 1987:6). In 1980-1981, for instance, he served as President of the New York Association of Gerontological Society Educators, was a Visiting Fellow at the Australian National University (in 1980), and was a visiting researcher at the Fondation Nationale de Gérontologie in Paris (in 1984 and in 1987) (Erickson, Larson, and Young [nd]).

Officially retired in 1975, being emeritus for Olaf Larson only meant the start of the next chapter in his professional life (Zimmerman 2013). Building on their previous work (M. Brown and Larson 1979), in 1982 Olaf began collaborating with alum Minnie Brown (PhD 1955) on their *Black Experience in American Agriculture and Rural Life* book project (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1982:8). Soon referred to as simply “The Black Farmer Project,” Olaf and Minnie took part in the Congressional Black Caucus Workshop on Blacks in Agriculture (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1986:3), and received an invitation to be part of the USDA’s Black History Month program for its staff (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1989:6).⁵⁶

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Successful Black Farmers: Factors in Their Achievement¹

Minnie M. Brown and Olaf F. Larson
Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University,
Ithaca, New York²



In 1987, Olaf joined Ed Moe (PhD 1951) on research examining the scientific contributions of the USDA’s Division of Farm Population and Rural Life (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1987:6). E. Yvonne Beauford soon joined the project and started work on her chapter that would come to include a compelling interview with the Division’s only Black professional (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1988:5; Larson and Zimmerman 2003; Oliver 2003). Olaf’s other work included writing a piece for his alma mater on the early history of rural sociology at the University of Wisconsin for their 50th anniversary (Larson 1983). In 1986 he reported in his holiday letter that “Fred Buttel has

persuaded me to join in coauthoring the monograph on the sociology of agriculture” for the 50th Anniversary of the Rural Sociological Society (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1986:3). Published in 1990, the monograph turned into a book and Gil Gillespie joined as the third co-author. Together, the three of them provided a comprehensive overview, history, and assessment of agriculture in rural sociology (Buttel, Larson, and Gillespie 1990).

55 The level of continuing involvement of emeritus faculty was such that Milt Barnett, Phil Taietz, and Olaf Larson were included in the Department’s decade-end internal review (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]).

56 To put Minnie Brown and Olaf’s work in perspective, discrimination complaints by Black farmers against the USDA hit a wall in 1983, when President Reagan closed the USDA’s Civil Rights Office (Cowan and Feder 2013). For other literature on Black farmers during this time, see for example: Hoppe and Bluestone (1987); Gilbert, Sharp, and Felin (2002); and Reid and Bennett (2012).

New Beginnings

“Change continues to be part of the norm around here,” wrote Jim Preston in his holiday letter (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1986:4). While Jim was referring to Extension, change reverberated throughout the decade and throughout the Department. Along with many changes in the staff, retirements during the 1980s included longtime Department faculty Milt Barnett, Harold Capener (“Cape”), Gordon Cummings, Jim Preston, and Bernice Scott (fondly called “Scotty”). When Bernice retired, a tree was planted in the Ag Quad, and a fund was established in the CALS Development Office “to which hundreds of her friends and colleagues have contributed as an expression of support for her philosophy and work with youth” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1984:17; Larson, Preston, and Cummings 1984:2).⁵⁷ A year later, she lost her battle with lymphoma (Larson, Preston, and Cummings 1985). Others who passed during the 1980s included retired faculty member Frank Alexander, who died in 1983 (Broadwell, Lawrence, and Larson [nd]; Larson 1985), and alum Doug Ensminger (PhD 1938), which was reported in the *New York Times* (“Douglas Ensminger” 1989).

In some ways, the decade of the 1980s can almost be cut in two. Most faculty departures occurred by mid-decade and the second half of the decade saw seven new faculty join the Department. Among the comings and goings was that of David Brown, who arrived in 1987, taking over the College’s Associate Director of Research position that Jim Zuiches had held since 1982. In 1987, Walt Coward became Director of International Agriculture (Zuidema 2013:15; Dept. of Rural Sociology 1988:1). Other new arrivals included Tom Lyson, Tom Hirschl, Phil McMichael, Nina Glasgow, Mary Kritz, and Doug Gurak.

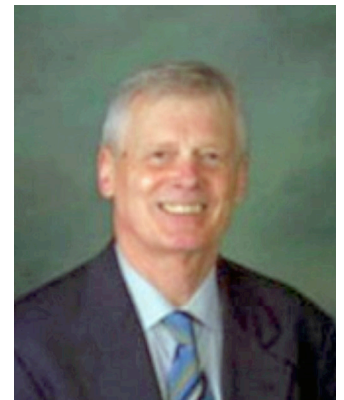


Gene Erickson

The decade opened with Gene Erickson just starting what would be 10 years serving as the Department’s chair, and it closed with Dudley Poston (hired in 1988) inhabiting the corner office. In his first holiday letter after returning to being “ordinary faculty,” Gene commented how much lighter his backpack was without the usual “four inch stack of heavy mail” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1989:3).

Many of the changes that accompanied the late 1980s set the stage for years to come. Closing out the Department’s external review, Gene wrote: “If the decade that began in the mid-seventies was an interesting one for its scope of change, I cannot help but believe that the decade of the nineties will be quite possibly the most

dramatic in the seventy-five year history of the department” (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:5).



Dudley Poston

⁵⁷ In a December 6th insert that accompanied the holiday letter that year, Gene Erickson provided more details. After Dutch Elm disease took many of the trees on the Ag Quad in the 1970s, a replanting effort was begun (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1980:6). Among the new trees were those planted in honor of faculty and alumni. The tree planted to honor Bernice Scott at her retirement was one of these. In lieu of flowers or a retirement gift, Bernice requested that a fund be established instead. At the time of the holiday letter, \$4,000 of the minimum \$5,000 had already been raised. In her holiday letter, Bernice recognized the generosity and help given by those in the Department including “the Larsons,” Ann Christopher, Ward Bauder, Gould Colman, and Gene Erickson (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1984:17).

Department Faculty in the 1980s

Department Faculty in the 1980s

Person	Start date	End date	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Gordon Cummings	1954	1983										
Bernice Scott	1954	1984										
Milt Barnett	1973	1985										
Harold Capener	1965	1986										
Patricia Garrett	1979	1986										
Jim Preston	1974	1987										
Frank Young	1962	1995										
Paul Eberts	1966	2008										
Eugene Erickson	1967	1996										
Joe Francis	1969	2014										
Walt Coward	1973	1991										
Fred Buttel	1978	1992										
Chuck Geisler	1979	2014										
James Zuiches	1982	1986										
Mark Lancelle	1983	1986										
Shelley Feldman	1984	Present										
Tom Hirschl	1986	Present										
Joe Stycos	1987	2000										
Tom Lyson	1987	2006										
David Brown	1987	Present										
Dudley Poston	1988	1992										
Phil McMichael	1988	Present										
Doug Gurak	1989	2015										
[Mary Kritz]	1990	2014										

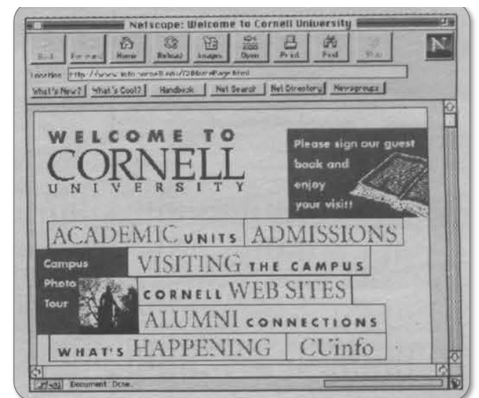
*Mary Kritz was slated to join the Department in 1989 with Doug Gurak. Even though she was considered part of the faculty, a Rockefeller grant delayed her official arrival until 1990.

Does not include courtesy appointments or visiting appointments such as Odd Grande, Galia Tagumpay Castillo, Minnie Brown, Ed Moe, etc.

The 1990s

Events in the 1990s were as wide ranging as any decade, but many also signaled important beginnings that would endure beyond the decade. Events such as establishing the World Trade Organization, NAFTA, and the start of the Euro, signaled how what was once “international” was now becoming global. The decade saw Operation Desert Storm, genocide in Rwanda, and the Bosnian War in Yugoslavia. Freed just two years earlier from 27 years in prison, Nelson Mandela was elected President of South Africa. Meanwhile, the Rodney King verdict and the O.J. Simpson trial evoked outrage for many in the U.S. Terrorism entered the public sphere with the bombing at the World Trade Center in 1993, the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, and the Centennial Olympic Park Bombing during the Atlanta Olympic Games. Federal legislation included GPRA (the Government Performance and Results Act), which saw increased attention to accountability (including by academic researchers with federal grants), and welfare reform as the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunities Act (PRWORA) ended AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) and fundamentally changed the nature of cash assistance.

Though websites were rudimentary by today's standards, the world wide web was opening its doors to the public for the first time. With the number of websites growing, the nature of information access had begun to fundamentally change. Even still, as the decade neared its end, anticipating and preparing for Y2K caused much consternation and concern since computer programmers had been using the 19## shorthand to indicate the year. The 1990s saw the "Tickle Me Elmo" craze and the first Harry Potter book. Meanwhile *Seinfeld* replaced *Cheers* on TV, and the movie *Titanic* brought history alive for popular audiences.



For the Department, the 1990s were actually marked by more faculty continuity than it had seen in awhile. Just as the confluence of faculty turnover with generational change made the 1980s feel turbulent, by comparison, most faculty remained the same during the 1990s – the most of any decade in the Department’s last 50 years. While many faculty faces were the same, changes were still stirring within. As junior faculty worked their way to tenure and promotion, it would be the new names joining the department at the end of the 1980s that formed the majority of those in the next.

Launching a New Venture

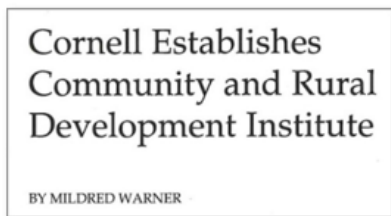
On November 8, 1989, the Speaker of the Faculty Council of Representatives called its meeting to order. Second on the agenda was a “resolution to establish a Community and Rural Development Institute” (University Faculty 1988-1990:6790C, Appendix E). In his role as the CALS Associate Director for Research, David Brown introduced the proposal. Explaining to the group how working with local communities was part of the responsibilities of both the College of Agriculture and the College of Human Ecology, he noted that despite there being “a lot of activities,” there was no “nexus through which these activities came together in any effective way” (University Faculty 1988-1990:6790C-6791C).

The proposed Community and Rural Development Institute, called CaRDI for short, began as a request from Dean Call “to bring together a faculty committee to discuss the need for an institute focused on improving the vitality of New York’s small cities and rural areas” (CaRDI 1992:2).¹ To develop the rationale and charter, Mildred Warner (PhD 1997) worked closely with David and a group of “about 20 faculty” from both CALS and the College of Human Ecology (University Faculty 1988-1990:6791C; CaRDI 1992:2). The final resolution noted that “one hundred faculty members at Cornell have shown sustained interest in the Institute” (University Faculty 1988-1990: Appendix E).



Mildred Warner

The proposed Institute would be a university-wide institute that reported to the Vice President for Research and Advanced Studies with a governing board, director, external advisory committee, and a steering committee. As David summarized to the Faculty Council of Representatives, the Institute’s basic goals were “to increase communication and collaboration among existing community and rural development research and extension programs”; “to serve as a point of entry”; and “to track emerging rural needs and issues” (University Faculty 1988-1990:6791C). In spring of 1990, the Board of Trustees approved the proposal and the Community and Rural Development Institute became a reality with Mildred Warner (PhD 1997) serving as its first associate director and David Brown as its director.²



The Community and Rural Development Institute, soon known as CaRDI, hit the ground running. In just a few months, the Institute had published a directory with summaries of 44 different existing programs and efforts in multiple colleges at Cornell (CaRDI 1990), it had already held research discussion groups, workshops for local officials, joined the Rural Services Institute Network of the NYS Office of Rural Affairs, sponsored symposia on poverty and diversity (1990:1), and organized an issue of the College’s “New York’s Food and Life Sciences Quarterly” focused on rural development (Warner 1990).

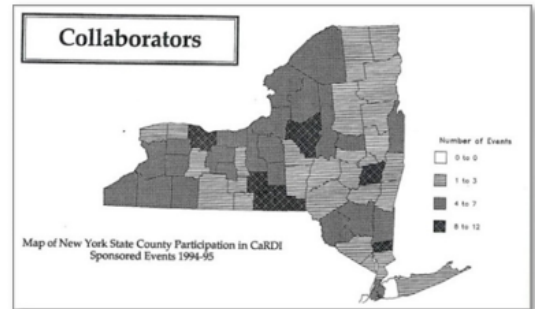
By the time CaRDI reached just its third year, it had a network of over 200 faculty members (1992:2), and the annual report described multiple programs and initiatives in which the Institute and its affiliated faculty had participated. In addition to the directory, CaRDI published *People, Jobs and Income*, which highlighted Census data and trends in the state (D. Brown, W. Brown, and Hirschl 1991)³; created the publication series titled *Innovations in Community and Rural Development*; provided testimony to the President’s Council on Rural Affairs (CaRDI 1991) as well as other legislative briefings; and presented its annual Innovator Awards to seven groups and individuals (CaRDI 1992).⁴



- 1 At the time of David’s presentation, using the acronym “CaRDI” was not yet established (University Faculty 1988-1990: Appendix E). The resolution presented to the Faculty Council of Representatives noted “the Fleming Commission on the future of Cornell Cooperative Extension” had “recommended to President Rhodes that Extension should involve a broader range of faculty and focus on a wider range of both agricultural and non-agricultural issues” (University Faculty 1988-1990: Appendix E).
- 2 As outgoing Director, David Brown reflected on Mildred Warner’s role in CaRDI’s success, noting “no one could care more about CaRDI and community and rural development, nor could anyone be more skillful in developing and conducting exciting new programs” (CaRDI 1992:2).
- 3 Even today, *People Jobs and Income* (D. Brown, W. Brown, and Hirschl 1991) is still available from the Cornell Program on Applied Demographics: https://pad.human.cornell.edu/papers/downloads/people_jobs_income.pdf.
- 4 Seven regional hearings were held by the President’s Council on Rural America. In their final report, the Council referred to themselves as “a group of 19 Americans with rural roots” (President’s Council on Rural America 1992:5). The report, titled *Revitalizing Rural America Through Collaboration*, made multiple recommendations on increasing partnerships such as the newly established State Rural Development Councils.

In 1993, CaRDI switched hands as David stepped down to become Department chair. Paul Eberts took over for the rest of the decade. Mildred Warner stayed on as Associate Director while also completing her PhD.⁵ Already well known for his extensive work in the state, David wrote: “I am extremely pleased to turn the watch over to Paul Eberts. His rich experience working with rural people and communities and his enthusiasm for CaRDI’s goals ensure that CaRDI will be in excellent hands in the future” (1992:2).

CaRDI continued to build an expansive network and set of activities, encompassing over 300 professionals that reached into nearly every corner of the state, and a mailing list of nearly 1,700 people and organizations (CaRDI 1994:13). In addition to the *Community Development Reports* series and the annual Innovator Awards, CaRDI began a research-funding competition for Hatch funds, and developed an MPS (Master’s of Professional Studies) degree program (CaRDI 1994:12; CaRDI 1995:12; “CaRDI Awards” 1991; “Cornell Community and Rural” 1998), among many others.⁶

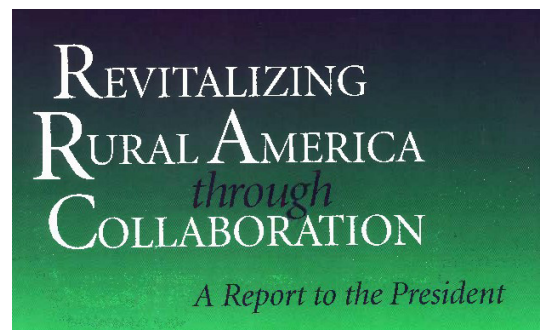


Paul Eberts

Engaging Rurality

“It all comes down to community development issues and processes, doesn’t it?” Paul wrote in the 1994-1995 annual report (CaRDI 1995:3). At CaRDI’s 5-year mark, the unit underwent a self-initiated external review. The review team “praised CaRDI’s flexibility and rapid response to emerging, high priority issues,” while encouraging it to focus on follow-up and documenting impact (CaRDI 1995:12). Neal Flora (PhD 1970), then Director of the North Central Regional Center for Rural Development, commented: “No other center for rural development in the nation has been so flexible, so timely, and resulted in such outstanding research and outreach efforts that bring the whole university to address key issues in rural New York State” (CaRDI 1995:12).⁷

Nationally, addressing rurality on terms other than agriculture took on new forms during the 1990s. The President’s Council on Rural America, at which CaRDI had testified (CaRDI 1991), focused on using a collaborative approach to rural issues (President’s Council on Rural America 1992). Of note in the group’s report were the newly forming State Rural Development Councils and what would become the National Rural Development Partnership. As the President’s Council put it in the preamble to its final report: “A key conclusion of this report is that quality of life improves when economic development occurs and economic development occurs only through community development” (President’s Council on Rural America 1992:1).

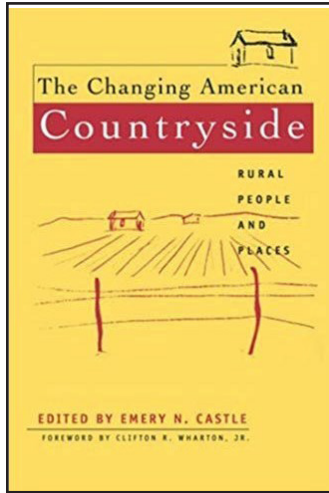


5 In 1997, Mildred Warner stepped down as CaRDI’s Associate Director, and in 1998 she became Assistant Professor in Cornell’s Department of City and Regional Planning.

6 The MPS degree admitted its first students in 1998 (“Cornell Community and Rural” 1998) and Paul Eberts served as the Director of Graduate Studies for the degree. In its final report, the National Rural Studies Committee makes several mentions of the newly established degree (e.g. Castle 1997:25, 27, 35). Noting the relationship to a broader rural studies agenda, the report stated: “The fact that two prestigious institutions - Wisconsin and Cornell - have seen fit to establish multidisciplinary professional degree programs is cause for optimism” (Castle 1997:27).

7 The value and importance of CaRDI is perhaps best symbolized in the College’s 1997-98 Annual Report. Unlike most previous annual reports, this one was designed with a format designed for a popular audience, including photos and segments focused on specific programs. Spanning across multiple pages was a timeline highlighting significant events in the College’s history. CaRDI’s establishment was listed along with CIIFAD (Cornell International Institute for Food, Agriculture, and Development) as among the significant developments in 1990 (CALS 1997/98:25).

The Kellogg-funded National Rural Studies Committee followed a somewhat similar vein. As stated in the Committee's final report, "Commercial agriculture is no longer a dominant economic activity in rural America. This drives home the fact that traditional agricultural policy leaves most of rural America untouched" (Castle 1997:40). Established in 1987 and chaired by Emory Castle (Oregon State University), the Committee was a decade-long effort formed to "assist institutions of higher education that they might better serve rural America" (Castle:1997:5).⁸ David Brown was selected as one of what became 14 members of the multidimensional, multidisciplinary Committee (Castle 1997:9, 20-25).

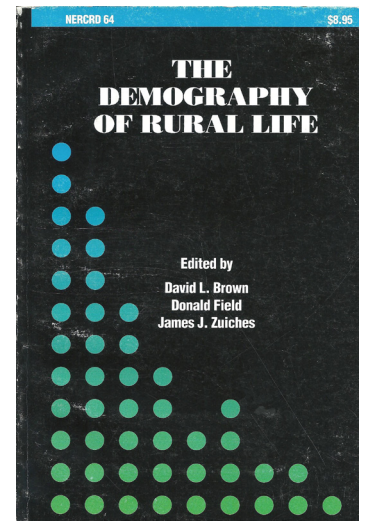


Counted among the Committee's accomplishments was the book *The American Countryside: Rural People and Places*, which brought together much of the group's resulting scholarship (Castle 1995).⁹ Included among the chapters was Tom Hirschl and David Brown's "The Determinants of Rural and Urban Poverty" (1995). Throughout the decade, David joined with members of the National Rural Studies Committee and others to address various audiences and aspects of rural studies and rural issues (e.g. D. Brown and Ranney 1991; D. Brown and Warner 1991; Summers and Brown 1998), and he led the Committee's National Rural Studies Summer Institute in Ithaca.¹⁰

In 1991, the Rural Sociological Society sponsored its next book in their series of decennial volumes – *Rural Policies for the 1990s* – co-edited by Cornelia Flora (PhD 1970) (Flora and Christenson 1991). In addition to chapters by several PhD alumni, the volume included David Brown and Nina Glasgow's examination of the

implications of population change for rural governments (D. Brown and Glasgow 1991)¹¹, and Tom Lyson's article with Bill Falk looking at industrial policy (Falk and Lyson 1991).

Another lens through which rurality was examined in the Department came through demography. Following their previous book with Calvin Beale (Fuguitt, Brown, and Beale 1989), David Brown and Glenn Fuguitt examined residential preferences and their implications for population redistribution (e.g. D. Brown et al. 1997; Fuguitt and Brown 1990). In 1991, a symposium was held to honor Glenn Fuguitt.¹² David joined Don Field and former Cornell faculty member Jim Zuiches in bringing the presentations together in the edited book, *The Demography of Rural Life* (D. Brown et al. 1993). In addition to David, both Nina Glasgow and Max Pfeffer provided comments on two of the presentations given during the symposium (Glasgow 1993a; Pfeffer 1993).

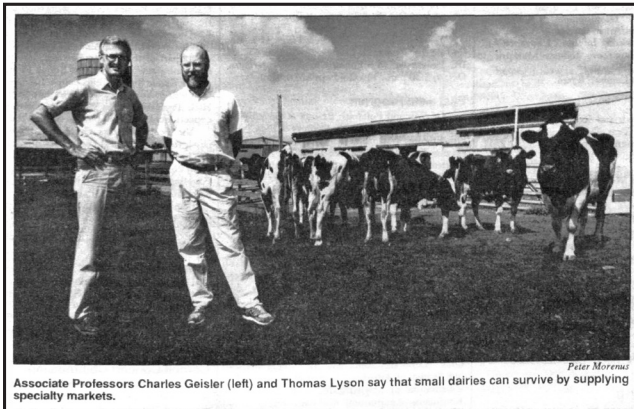
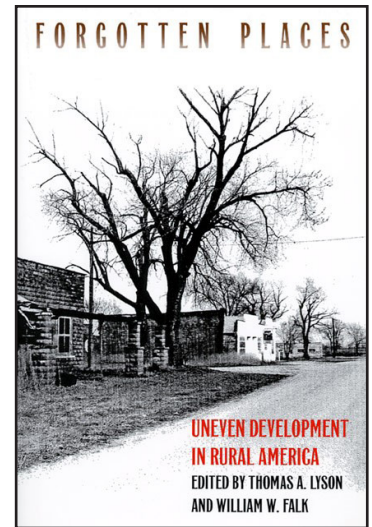


- 8 As the National Rural Development Partnership and State Rural Development Councils were organizing within USDA, the National Rural Studies Committee considered forming a somewhat similar effort called Crossroads, which would combine policy and academics (Castle 1997:16-17; Castle and Weber 2006). For more on the National Rural Development Partnership, see Shaffer (2001), Radin et al. (1996), Shortall and Warner (2010), Honadle (2001), and Tadlock Cowan's (PhD 1993) review of USDA Rural Development programs (2014), among others.
- 9 As part of the outcomes from the Committee, Emory Castle attributes the National Rural Studies Committee for his chairing one of the taskforces surrounding the 1996 Farm Bill, and his providing input for the National Research Council's second volume of its assessment of land-grant universities (Castle 1997:20-21; National Research Council 1996).
- 10 The National Rural Studies Committee also produced a rural studies bibliography (e.g. Hatch 1991) and a directory of scholars and educators (e.g. McKearney 1994). In 1993, the National Rural Studies Committee's Summer Institute – Exploring Rural Studies – was organized by David Brown and Janet Fitchen (Ithaca College) and was held at Akwe:kon on the Cornell campus. David hired Julie N. Zimmerman (PhD 1997) as the logistics coordinator for the Institute. Drawing on her research on rural poverty in New York state, Janet Fitchen, who had also been a National Rural Studies Center Associate (Castle 1997), helped select and organize local community tours.
- 11 Nina Glasgow's scholarship continued throughout the decade to focus on the elderly (e.g. Glasgow 1990, 1993b, 1995).
- 12 Glenn Fuguitt is not only a renowned demographer, he also chaired David Brown's Master's and PhD, and Max Pfeffer's PhD at the University of Wisconsin.

Just a few years later, Lyson and Falk's edited book *Forgotten Places* took on rural-ity from a different vantage point. The collection examined nine "forgotten" regions, including Appalachia, the Black Belt, Northern New England, and forestry in the Northwest (Lyson and Falk 1993). Published through the Rural America Series at the University Press of Kansas, the book was promoted in part in conjunction with the Rural Sociological Society's Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty (Summers 1997).

Agriculture and the Environment

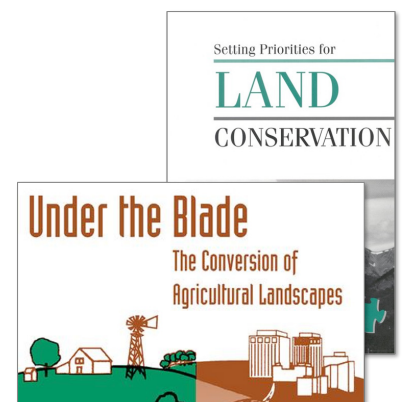
As the Census of Agriculture continued to show declining numbers of farms and farm population, the Land Grant System began assessing its future role. Providing a broader context, CAST (Council for Agricultural Science and Technology) published an Issue Brief summarizing some of the many ongoing efforts focused on stabilizing the agricultural sector (Fisher and Zuiches 1994). Key among these was a paradigm shift wherein the Land Grant System needed to respond not only to producers but the entire "food system," including consumers. Framing analyses in terms of the food system meant that the Land Grant system's orientation needed to include issues such as the environment, sustainability, and quality of life.¹³



Within the Department, faculty were engaged in assessing the changing nature of agriculture, both in New York and globally. Dairy, in particular, provided a lens through which to assess larger issues such as the impacts of restructuring on rural communities (Geisler and Lyson 1991, 1992; Lyson and Gillespie 1995), sustainability (Harper and Lyson 1995; Welsh and Lyson 1997), and the role of small producers (Cruise and Lyson 1991; Geisler and Lyson 1991). With the headline "Small Dairies' Future is in Specialty Markets," Chuck Geisler and Tom Lyson's research on dairy farms published in *BioScience* was high-

lighted in the *Cornell Chronicle* ("Small Dairies" 1991).

Agricultural restructuring raised many issues, including those of land preservation (Pfeffer and Lapping 1994), land ownership, and conservation. Chuck Geisler, for instance, helped organize a special issue of the journal *Rural Sociology* focused on land tenure (Geisler 1993; Geisler and Salamon 1993), and in 1998 he presented "Who Owns our Farmland" at the annual meeting of the American Farmland Trust (Geisler 1998). Like Max Pfeffer would a few years later, Chuck became a member of a panel of experts at the National Academy of Sciences. Called the Committee on Scientific and Technical Criteria for Federal Acquisition of Lands for Conservation, the national panel examined the criteria for acquiring federal lands for conservation (National Research Council 1993). Meanwhile, focusing on farmland loss and preservation, Tom

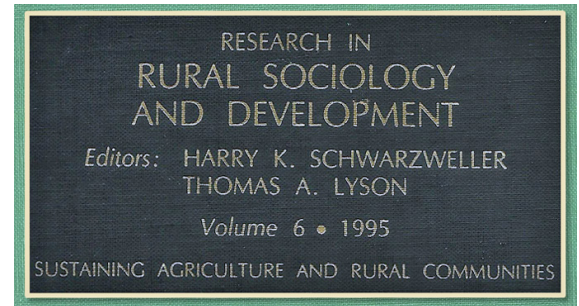


¹³ After moving from Cornell to Washington State University, Jim Zuiches was involved in these national efforts, including being a member of the National Research Council's Committee on the Future of the Colleges of Agriculture in the Land Grant System (National Research Council 1995). As President of the Rural Sociological Society, Jim kept the membership informed of the current efforts and the role of rural sociology (Zuiches 1993). Reports during this time addressed research as well as Extension (e.g. ESCOP 1993, 1994; West and Bottum 1991). Other changes in the 1990s included transferring the Census of Agriculture to the National Agricultural Statistics Service at the USDA (e.g. U.S. Census Bureau 2000), and establishing the National Research Initiative (NRI) through the 1990 Farm Bill (National Research Council 2000a).

Lyson joined Richard Olson in editing the book *Under the Blade: The Conversion of Agricultural Landscapes* (Olson and Lyson 1999).¹⁴

Turning to the role of local agriculture and community marked Tom Lyson's move into the fourth phase of his career (Gillespie, Geisler, and McMichael [nd]; Gillespie 2009). His 1998 co-authored article in *Social Forces*, "Local Capitalism, Civic Engagement, and Socioeconomic Well-Being," would be cited nearly 300 times (Tolbert, Lyson, and Irwin 1998),¹⁵ and he continued to examine the relationship between community, agriculture, and sustainability throughout the decade. Capping off the decade, Tom first coined the phrase "civic agriculture" in a paper at the 1999 Rural Sociological Society conference (Lyson 2004:xiv).

Having co-edited with Bill Falk Volume 4 of the *Research in Rural Sociology and Development*, a JAI Press book series that was established in the 1980s (Falk and Lyson 1989), Tom was again co-editor of another edition in the series – this time it was Volume 6 with Harold Schwarzweller (PhD 1958) (Schwarzweller and Lyson 1995).¹⁶ In addition to his own work with Doug Harper (Harper and Lyson 1995), articles included Gil Gillespie's examination of using sustainable agriculture for community development (Gillespie 1995), and Max Pfeffer's look at sustainable agriculture in the Northeast (Pfeffer and Lapping 1995).



Just as the 1974 Safe Drinking Water Act led to Joe Francis leading "the first systematic, nationally representative examination of ... rural domestic water" in the 1980s (Francis et al. 1982:21), amendments to that law engaged Department faculty in the 1990s. In their final grant report to the EPA, Max Pfeffer and Joe Stycos discussed how they took "advantage of a natural experiment in environmental management in rural watersheds that supply New York City (NYC)" (Pfeffer and Stycos [1998]).

'Despite stereotypes and images of open fire hydrants gushing water into the streets, there appears to be little factual basis for accusing city residents of being exceptionally wasteful of water.'

– Max J. Pfeffer, professor of rural sociology

In the late 1980s, New York City learned that if it did not meet the standards of the 1986 Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments, the city would be required to invest large amounts of money in building filtration systems. In response, the 1995 Memoranda of Agreement between the upstate watershed and New York City was signed. With no research having been conducted on public attitudes, Max Pfeffer and Joe Stycos obtained a grant from the EPA to compare the "public knowledge, attitudes and behavior toward the environment"

held by watershed residents and New York City residents (Pfeffer and Stycos [1989]). As a companion to another article on the watershed, the *Cornell Chronicle* covered their research even before the final report was complete ("Cornell Survey" 1996).

The research assessed multiple dimensions of public opinion and larger attitudes towards the environment (e.g. Pfeffer and Stycos 2002; Stycos and Pfeffer 1998), as well as an educational effort in Cooperative Extension (e.g. Wagenet et al. 1997; 1999). Their work formed the basis for their chapter in the edited volume focused on New York State (Stycos and Pfeffer 1999; Hirschl and Heaton 1999), and Max's chapter with Linda Plummer Wagenet in *Contested Countryside: The Rural Urban Fringe in North America* (Furuseth and Lapping 1999; Pfeffer and Wagenet 1999).

In December of 1994, Max presented "Comments Related to Criteria for Watershed Sustainability" to the

¹⁴ Reviews of *Under the Blade* include Jackson-Smith (2002) and Lapping (1999).

¹⁵ Google Scholar, July 2016.

¹⁶ Lyson had a long and formative relationship with Harry Schwarzweller (PhD 1958); Harry served as Tom's major professor for both his Master's and PhD degrees at Michigan State University (Gillespie 2007:277).

Water Science and Technology Board Workshop held by the National Research Council and the President's Council on Sustainable Development (Pfeffer 1994). By the mid-1990s, he was appointed to the National Research Council's Committee on Watershed Management as part of a 15-person expert panel.

The group's resulting report, *New Strategies for America's Watersheds*, provided a multidisciplinary examination of using a watershed approach to policy and management (National Research Council 1999). Not long after, in 1997, the National Research Council was asked to assess the New York strategy. This time, Max was vice-chair for the Committee (National Research Council 2000b).

Rural Poverty

Seven faculty join national study on revitalizing poor rural areas

By William Holder

The impending move of Santa Cecilia's production facilities from Cortland to Mexico is a signpost to the future of rural America, according to Cornell sociologist Thomas Lyson. Don't live over the interstate line of large, mass-production facilities, he suggests, but work to rebuild rural areas with small, technologically sophisticated manufacturers.

Such initiatives in order to provide that to administration, Lyson is quick to acknowledge. While some rural areas, particularly in the Northeast, are aggressively seeking the public to come back, he says, the rural areas of the Northeast are the most of the rural United States. Not the least of these is simply understanding patterns of poverty and unemployment and the problems of special groups, such as rural women and elderly people.

To explore these problems and try the groundwork for policy recommendations, seven Cornell faculty members (including from the Rural Sociological Society) joined more than 70 of their colleagues last year in the annual "Rural Poverty Roundtable" in Cortland, New York, to discuss the rural sociological society's new report on rural poverty.

The report, published in December (Winter Issue), "The participation of so many of our faculty in this national effort certainly underscores Cornell's leadership in this area," said David Brown, chair of the Department of Rural Sociology. "Most important, however, our faculty are contributing to a broad-based, multidisciplinary understanding of rural poverty that we need to regenerate rural areas and provide that to the nation's citizens and other benefits to people who have been left behind."

"Given the ongoing shift in national priorities and that almost one-third of the nation's poor live in rural areas, this report couldn't be more timely."

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"Given the ongoing shift in national priorities and that almost one-third of the nation's poor live in rural areas, this report couldn't be more timely."



apparent, he says, are reluctant to become larger firms. Rural sociologists have questioned why people don't pick up and leave for more prosperous areas.

"Despite the economic headwinds and limited opportunities for social mobility in areas of persistent rural poverty, the local economic community appears to be working to overcome the challenges of rural poverty," says Lyson. "The report includes Lyson and Mildred Warner, associate director of Cornell's Community and Rural Development Institute. "There are economic assets," he says, "but the rural community is not doing enough to take advantage of them."

One of the main findings of the report is that rural areas need to look at women's unpaid and often invisible economic activities as their economic opportunity to family subsistence, according to Shelly Feldman, assistant professor of rural sociology.

"It is the nature of home-based work that needs to be looked at if we are going to be able to explain how rural women manage their daily lives," she adds.

Barbara Brown, a professor of rural sociology, says that the rural community is not doing enough to take advantage of their economic assets. "There are economic assets," she says, "but the rural community is not doing enough to take advantage of them."

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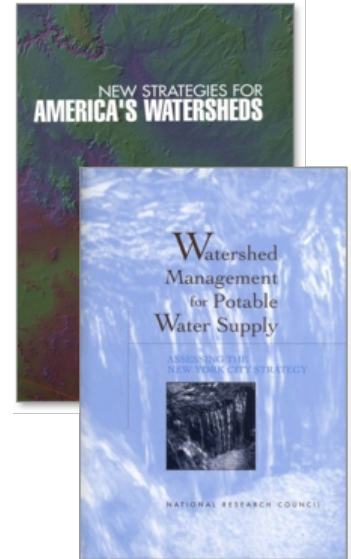
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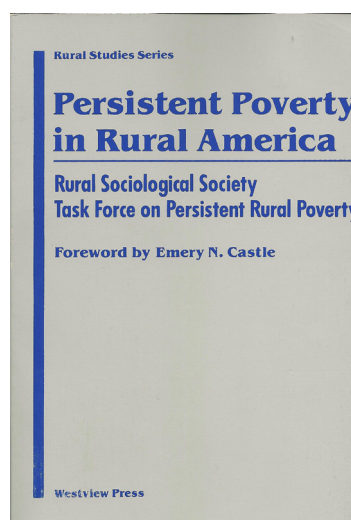
It was Gene Summers's experiences while on the National Rural Studies Committee that led him to establish the Rural Sociological Society's (RSS) Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty, when he was elected President of the Society. "Concerned that rural poverty is worsening and at an even faster rate than poverty in urban areas," Gene wrote in his article for *The Rural Sociologist*, "a national team of social scientists is setting out to learn why the nation seems to be losing its war on rural poverty" (Summers 1991:71).

The Department's involvement in the Task Force was featured in a nearly full-page article in the *Cornell Chronicle* ("Seven Faculty Join" 1993:4). As Department chair, David Brown noted that "The participation of so many of our faculty in this national effort certainly underscores Cornell's leadership in this area." David continued: "Given the ongoing shift in national priorities and that almost one-third of the nation's poor live in rural areas, this report couldn't be more timely" ("Seven Faculty Join" 1993:4).



The Department had multiple connections to the Task Force, which consisted of 60 faculty from universities all across the nation. Chuck Geisler, Tom Lyson, Nina Glasgow, Shelly Feldman, and Phil McMichael were members of 5 of the Task Force's 9 different working groups. Nina and Tom provided leadership for two of the committees – Nina chaired the Working Group on Rural Elderly, and Lyson was co-chair with Bill Falk for the Working Group on Spatial Location of Economic Activities. Also counted among the Task Force members were alumni Louise Fortman (PhD 1973), Nancy Lee Peluso (PhD 1988), and JoAnn Hickey (PhD 1992), as well as Mildred Warner (PhD 1997), CaRDI's Associate Director at the time the report was published.¹⁷

The group's central focus was "to provide conceptual clarity regarding the factors and dynamics of society which precipitate and perpetuate rural poverty" (RSS Task Force 1993:3). In 1993 their analysis, entitled *Persistent Poverty in Rural America*, was published by Westview Press as part of the Rural Sociological Society's Rural Studies Series (RSS Task Force 1993).¹⁸ As one reviewer noted, the Task Force's book brought to light



¹⁷ Susan Christopherson, faculty in Cornell's Department of City and Regional Planning, was also a member.
¹⁸ The RSS Task Force produced a syllabus and a directory of rural scholars (Summers et al. 1993, 1996), and served as the springboard for the Pathways from Poverty programs conducted at each of the Regional Rural Development Centers (NER-

the complexity and challenge of persistent poverty in rural areas. Noting how the book placed “the problem of persistent rural poverty in the context of time and space,” the result was an analysis where “Poverty is a symptom or consequence of a number of diverse, but not isolated, situations.” The review continued: “This makes the problem resistant to solutions” (Swanson 1994:170).¹⁹

Even before the RSS Task Force, rural poverty and participation in assistance programs had already been the focus of Tom Hirschl’s research, including his long-term collaboration with Mark Rank at Washington University in St. Louis (Rank and Hirschl 1988). In the 1990s, their work together continued to grow (Hirschl and Rank 1991, 1999; Rank and Hirschl 1993a).

Building on their research at the University of Wisconsin, Hirschl and Rank conducted the first study to examine participation rates in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program (AFDC) and Food-Stamps for all U.S. counties (“Rural Residents Shy Away” 1991:3). As Tom summarized his work on food stamp participation for the *Cornell Chronicle*, “All of this suggests that the use of welfare is shaped by factors other than individual, economic or eligibility. Spatial and geographic factors are important as well. In regard to urban and rural poverty and welfare participation, there is the paradox in the American welfare system: Where the need for welfare is greatest, participation is the lowest” (“Studies: Rural Poor” 1995:4). In addition to participation in assistance programs, Rank and Hirschl also conducted their first work in the unequal distribution of the risk of being in poverty (Rank and Hirschl 1999a 1999b, 1999c).²⁰

Studies: Rural poor need food stamps more, use them less

By Blaine Friedlander

While the Persistent Rural Poverty Taskforce and Tom Hirschl’s work predated welfare reform, it was not long before the much-debated Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunities Act (PRWORA) became a reality. The 1996 legislation fundamentally changed the nature of cash assistance, ending AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) and creating the new federal program named Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF).²¹



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**Rural America and Welfare Reform:
An Overview Assessment**

In order to “more effectively address the rural implications of this legislation,” the Rural Policy Research Institute (RUPRI) “assembled a distinguished group of national rural welfare reform experts, to serve as an ongoing research and decision support resource for Federal, state, and local decision makers” (RUPRI 1999:3). Tom Hirschl and Julie Zimmerman (PhD 1997) were members of the Rural Welfare Reform Initiative Research Panel. The Research Panel’s first work focused on providing “a conceptual frame-

CRD 1996; Summers 1997). Mildred Warner was on the New York Pathways from Poverty Team and a report by the team was published by CaRDI (NYS Pathways from Poverty Team 1996). Julie Zimmerman (PhD 1997) coordinated the program at the North Central Regional Center for Rural Development (e.g. NCRCD 1996). The Task Force’s work also generated the Congressional Colloquium Series in the Rural Sociological Society (e.g. RSS 1995a:36).

- 19 Reviewers of the Task Force’s book emphasized different aspects and different contexts. Mark Nord and Emilia Martinez-Brawley, for instance, contextualized the importance of the Task Force’s work from the vantage point of their respective fields of rural sociology and social work. “This summary of the task force’s finding,” Nord wrote, “is evidence that rural sociology, in spite of the powerful institutional matrix in which it is embedded, retains a critical perspective on the social production system and power relations of ... society” (Nord 1993:501). Emphasizing a different aspect of the book, Martinez-Brawley wrote, “It is encouraging to see that in these difficult days of pervasive and persistent poverty in rural America, there are those who still wish to renew rural sociology’s commitment to praxis” (Martinez-Brawley 1995:137-138).
- 20 Rank and Hirschl’s article on the risk of the elderly being in poverty published in the *Journal of Gerontology* (Rank and Hirschl 1999a) was cited in the October 2001 issue of the popular magazine *Reader’s Digest*.
- 21 Reflecting trends in devolution at the time, the legislation also moved responsibility for planning and decision-making within a federal framework to the states. For participants, there would now be time limits and eligibility for cash assistance would be tied to employment and other outcomes.

work for understanding the unique rural context for welfare reform, and the implications of this context for welfare reform outcomes in rural areas” (RUPRI 1999:4).²²

Local Issues, Local Focus



“A hallmark of our programs,” wrote Tom Hirschl for the Extension section of the Department’s 1997 external review, “is that they combine applied research and outreach education in a seamless fashion” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:1[24]).²³ Organized around three program areas, work associated with Extension included the Farming Alternatives Program, the Population Information Program, and Community Policy Leadership (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:1-5[24-28]).²⁴

Policy analyses for local and state governments involved conducting research as well as presenting “major workshops and public presentations” – sometimes with audiences as large as “several hundred” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:2[25]). In 1996, for instance, Paul Eberts spoke to the New York State Committee on Social Services (Eberts 1996). Continuing the relationship with the New York State Legislative Commission on Rural Resources, Paul again provided data and analysis on trends in New York State (Eberts 1983, 1984, 1994).²⁵ In 1991, Paul won a CaRDI Innovator Award for his 15 years of organizing the Social Trends and Outlook Conferences (“Notables” 1991). For Tom Hirschl, poverty assistance policy was a key focus for much of his work (e.g. Hirschl and Rank 1999), and included analyses on the impact of welfare reform for New York State – such as his collaborations with the College of Human Ecology (e.g. Hirschl and Peters 1996; Hirschl, Peters, and Cochran 1996).

With its long roots in the Department, providing population data and analyses continued in the 1990s through the Population Information Program (PIP) by providing training, data, and analyses for Extension educators, and providing data and analyses for policy leaders in the state (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:3[26]). For part of the decade, analyses of state trends were published in the *Population & Development Extension* publication series, including analyses such as underemployment in New York (Hirschl 1995), population change between the 1980 and 1990 Decennial Censuses (Hirschl and Brown 1991), and changing conditions in rural parts of the state (Eberts, Khawaja, and Hirschl 1990a, 1990b).

Work in the PIP program for policy leaders included the Teen Assessment Program (TAP) (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:3[26]).²⁶ TAP and TAP surveys gathered information on teens’ risky behavior, including drug use, smoking, and unprotected sex. These analyses were used in Broome County (Telfer, Hirschl, and Meade 1996; Telfer, Meade, and Hirschl 1999) and elsewhere by a regional health system for decision-making and curriculum development (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:3-4[26-27]). In 1994, the New York State Teen Assessment Program won the CaRDI Innovator Award for community research on teen at-risk behavior (“CaRDI Grants Four Awards” 1995).

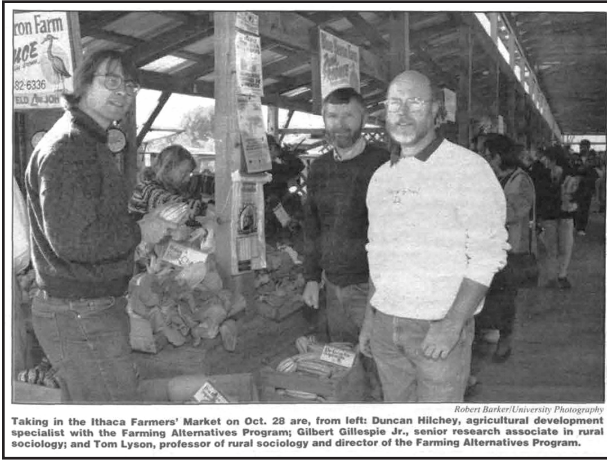
22 As RUPRI Director Chuck Fluharty acknowledged in the preface to the group’s first report: “Primary authorship for this paper was provided by Julie N. Zimmerman, Sarah Dewees, Lynn Reinschmidt, and Tom Hirschl” (RUPRI 1999:4).

23 Each section of the report is numbered separately. The page number in brackets refers to the page number had they been sequentially numbered.

24 Having lost FTEs in Extension in the 1980s and the resulting shift in focus, the Department now emphasized applied research and disseminating research-based information.

25 In addition to publications (Eberts 1992; Eberts, Khawaja, and Hirschl 1990, 1990b), Paul also presented “The Economic Outlook for Rural New York” to both the Second Annual Conference on New York’s Economy and county Extension Agents at the Local Economic Vitality Conference (Eberts and Stern 1992a, 1992b; Eberts 1993). The talk was also published as chapter 4 in the 2nd annual economic outlook briefing (New York State Network for Economic Research 1993).

26 A review of programs succinctly described the Teen Assessment Program (TAP) as implementing surveys of local youth and disseminating the results through newsletters containing individualized data from each community (Small 1990:36). TAP began in 1989 and has been used in multiple states (Rodgers and Small 1999). In New York, Tom Hirschl remains involved today (e.g. Miller and Hirschl 2013).



Duncan Hilchey, Gil Gillespie, and Tom Lyson

In 1995, the headline on the front page of the *Cornell Chronicle* read: “Farmers’ Markets Help Grow Rural Economic Health” (November 8, 1995). Applied research by Tom Lyson, Gil Gillespie, and Duncan Hilchey examined the role of farmer’s markets for local producers as well as local communities (Hilchey, Lyson, and Gillespie 1995; Lyson, Gillespie, and Hilchey 1995). The collaborative research was conducted as part of the Farming Alternatives Program. Their work with farmers’ markets was recognized in the late 1990s with a CaRDI Innovator Award (CALS 1997/8:11) – the second award bestowed to the program (FAP 1992:1).

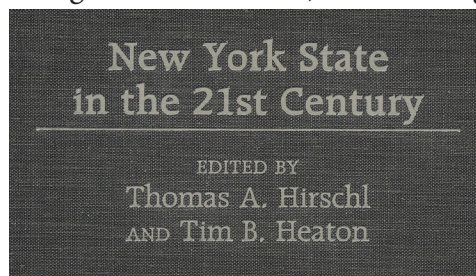
The Farming Alternatives Program (FAP) was established in 1986 (FAP 1993:4) in the Department of Agricultural

Economics, but in the early 1990s Tom Lyson took over as Director and FAP moved to Rural Sociology (Gillespie 2007:276, 2009:17; Welsh 2007:278). Originally focused on assisting individual farmer entrepreneurs, the program’s emphasis shifted to connecting agriculture with community development (Gillespie 2007:276; Welsh 2007:278). Reflecting this change, in the program’s 1992 annual report Lyson wrote, “Sustainable agriculture in its most encompassing form, represents the possibility of not only *stabilizing* the number of farms in New York and the deteriorating condition in many rural communities, but *reinvigorating* farms and communities so that they can sustain themselves for future generations” (emphasis original) (FAP 1992:2).

The *Farming Alternatives* newsletter, begun in 1992, had an audience of over 1,000 paid subscribers – including many outside of New York State. Between 1986 and 1995, the program produced over 85 educational programs, 30 publications, received multiple awards and recognitions, and conducted research on several aspects of sustainable farming and agriculture (FAP 1995:4). Illustrating the program’s impact, the Department’s 1997 external review noted that over the previous 4 years the program “responded to over 6,200 inquiries and assisted approximately 4,000 enterprises” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:3[24]). The review further noted that “the demand for program information and resources ... outstrips capacity” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:2[25]).²⁷



In addition to applied research conducted in association with Cornell Cooperative Extension, other work in the Department also focused on New York – oftentimes with the state becoming a window through which to examine larger issues and national trends. Ruth Young and Joe Francis, for instance, examined small manufacturing and the role of small firms in local economic development (R. Young and Francis 1989; 1993; “Woes of Big Businesses” 1993). Ruth Young was the lead investigator and it was not long before Christopher Young joined Ruth and Joe (R. Young, Francis, and C. Young 1993; 1994a; 1994b). Their work culminated in a co-authored book *Entrepreneurship, Private and Public* (R. Young, Francis, and Young 1999).



At the end of the decade, Tom Hirschl co-edited the volume *New York State in the 21st Century* (Hirschl and Heaton 1999). Modeled after a similar effort in Utah that Tom had worked on, the book updated a previous work from the 1980s (Heaton, Hirschl and Chadwick 1996;

²⁷ While Lyson was the Director and the program was housed in the Department, it already had a “highly committed staff” (Gillespie 2009:17). Instead of being “at Cornell University” (FAP 1992:1), the 1993 Annual Report masthead changed to the “Cornell University Farming Alternatives Program” (FAP 1993:1). The program’s funding came from several sources and the advisory committee included faculty and associates from several units and departments at Cornell (e.g. FAP 1995:4). FAP staff included Gil Gillespie, Doug Hilchey, Judy Green, and for a time, Rick Welsh (PhD 1995) as a research assistant (Welsh 2007:279).

Hirschl and Heaton 1999:xi).²⁸ The chapters brought forward many of the social and economic issues being faced in New York State. Within the book, 10 of the authors were from the Department, producing 9 of the 17 chapters, including Tom Hirschl's on the role of education in labor force participation (Hirschl 1999); Doug Gurak's examination of spatial mobility in New York's race, ethnic, and immigrant populations (Gurak 1999); Nina Glasgow's research on the elderly (Glasgow 1999); and Lindy William's assessment with Eleanor Bell of child living arrangements in the state (Williams and Bell 1999).²⁹

From International to Global

Selection of Nations, Regions, and Populations in Department Publications	
Bangladesh (Feldman 1994)	Nigeria (Kritz 1999)
Chile (Young 1994)	Singapore (Williams, Mehta and Linn 1999)
China (Poston 1992)	South Asia (Feldman 1998)
Dominican Republic (Gurak and Kritz 1992)	Sub-Saharan Africa (Kritz and Makinwa 1995) (Young 1993)
East Bengal (Feldman 1999)	Sudan (Williams and Sobieszcyk 1997)
India (Stycos 1999)	Taiwan (Williams, Lin, and Mehta 1999)
Malaysia (Gurak and Kritz 1995)	Thailand (Williams, Archavanitkul, and Havanon 1997)
Morocco (Erickson and Young 1992)	Philippines (Leones and Feldman 1998) (Williams and Domingo 1993)

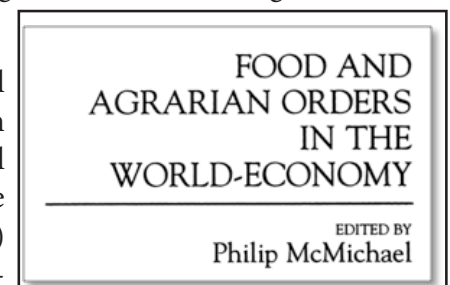
Just as domestic work formed a substantial part of the Department's research during the 1990s, international work also continued to be a key focus. Reflecting a variety of perspectives, just a sample of nations, regions, and populations from the publication titles illustrates the range represented in the Department, with faculty spanning multiple theoretical, conceptual, methodological, and demographic interests.

Having completed his work in Tunisia with Fernando and Sandra Bertoli in the 1980s (F. Young, Bertoli, and Bertoli 1981a, 1981b; Rural Development Committee [1982]), Frank Young went on to collaborate with Victor Nee (Sociology, Cornell). Their work, "Peasant Entrepreneurs in China's 'Second Economy,'" had been part of the Cornell Project on Institutional Analysis at the Center for International Studies and examined post-market reform peasant entrepreneurship in China (Nee and Young 1991). The study utilized Frank's methodology of informant surveys, which were designed to collect "information about social

units larger than the family but smaller than a province" (Nee and Young 1991:307; F. Young 1985). Frank also continued his work on urban place hierarchies in Africa (e.g. F. Young and Khawaja 1987; F. Young 1988), which culminated in a methodological article with Gene Erickson (Erickson and Young 1992).

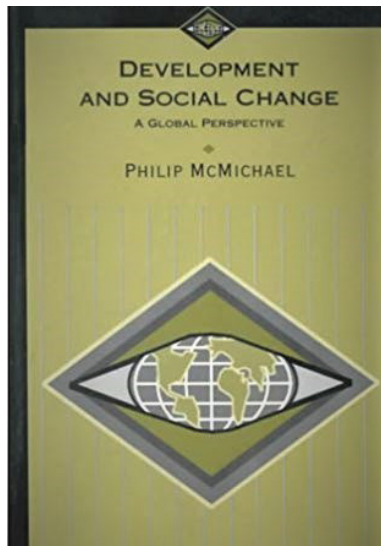
Macro theoretical and global restructuring formed Phil McMichael's approach to the international world. Building off of his work with Harriet Friedmann at the University of Toronto (Friedmann and McMichael 1989), Phil worked on reconceptualizing agriculture, food, and the place of rurality within developmentalist models of international and global change. In his introduction to *Food and Agrarian Orders in the World-Economy*, Phil powerfully stated their interconnections. Focusing on the theoretical foundations of developmentalist models, Phil explained, "The most powerful states have historically gained the capacity to set the rules, not only of international commerce, but also of discourse ... relegating food/agriculture to the margins" (McMichael 1995:x).

In 1991, Phil organized a session at the Rural Sociological Society's annual meeting on food and global restructuring. The results were published in the edited book *The Global Restructuring of Agro-Food Systems* (McMichael 1994). The next year, *Food and Agrarian Orders in the World-Economy* came about from the 17th annual Political Economy of the World-System (PEWS) conference that was held at Cornell in 1993 (McMichael 1995). The confer-



28 Hirschl became involved in the Utah book while on sabbatical at Brigham Young University.

29 Perhaps reflecting their continuing relationship, the chapter on Native Americans in New York was co-authored by Robert Venables (Baugher and Venables 1999).



ence was sponsored by the New York State Agricultural Experiment Station, the Department, and the International Political Economy Program at Cornell (McMichael 1995:xv). Both of these events and subsequent books brought together scholars examining multiple facets of the global organization of agriculture and food.

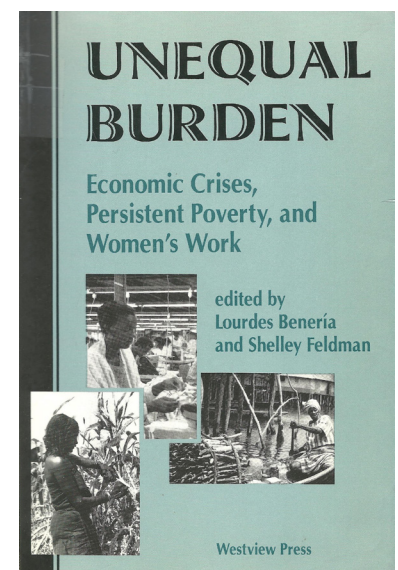
Throughout the decade, Phil examined the role of food and agriculture in a reorganizing world economy, and its role in conceptualizing globalization (e.g. McMichael 1993; 1996a; 1997). With titles such as “Rethinking Globalisation: The Agrarian Question Revisited,” “Globalization: Myth and Realities,” and “World Food System Restructuring under a GATT Regime,” Phil began to develop what would become his own approach to food regimes (McMichael 2009). Historicizing the globalization project and its effects, in 1996 Phil brought his work together in the first edition of what would become a popular and multi-edition textbook, *Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective* (McMichael 1996b).

New approaches to development also found voice with Shelley Feldman. Through both feminist analyses and her research in Bangladesh, Shelley approached development through the lens of gender, inequality, and structural change. Scholarship on women in international development, including that by Feldman and her students, moved away from an “add women and stir” approach to focusing on gender, feminist theory, and feminist epistemology. Shelley developed a highly popular graduate-level course on feminist theory, and with Rick Welsh (PhD 1995) laid out the contours and implications of feminist theory for rural sociology (Feldman and Welsh 1995).

The 1988 conference that Shelley organized with Lourdes Benería resulted in a co-edited book, *Unequal Burden: Economic Crises, Persistent Poverty, and Women’s Work* (Benería and Feldman 1992). This book concretized the impacts and implications of the 1980s international debt crisis and structural adjustment on women in the global South. Using case studies, and linking the household to macro policies through its differential impacts for women, the book contained updated papers that had originally been presented at the 1988 “Economic Crisis, Household Survival Strategies and Women’s Work” conference (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:183). The book remains among standard citations for literature in the field (e.g. Benería, Berik, and Floro 2015).

As development scholarship “discovered” the invisibility of women’s work (e.g. McCarthy and Feldman 1983; 1988; Glasberg 1991), structural adjustment policies were being examined in their relationship to women’s labor force participation, women’s unpaid work, and non-capitalist formations. In the 1990s, Shelley engaged in an ambitious project to bring together two-and-a-half decades of literature on the informal sector around the world. The result was a bibliography containing over 800 citations, most with annotations, crossing over multiple and often separate fields, and a comprehensive introductory essay that examined the key themes in the literature and different conceptions of informal work (Feldman and Ferretti 1998).

Shelley’s experience and expertise on Bangladesh continued to form the basis for many of her publications throughout the 1990s. In addition to being co-editor and writing the introduction for *Unequal Burden* (Feldman 1992a), Shelley’s article in the book drew on her extensive work in Bangladesh (Feldman 1992b). In 1997, she brought her expertise in Bangladesh to examining the role of NGOs (nongovernmental organizations) for the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. In this article, Shelley examined the role of



ANNALS, AAPSS, 554, November 1997

NGOs and Civil Society:
(Un)stated Contradictions

By SHELLEY FELDMAN

NGOs in relation to the conservative religious party Jama'at-I-Islami, the groups' competing interests, and the transformation of the relationship of civil society and the state (Feldman 1997). In an article written specifically for the book *Appropriating Gender: Women's Activism and Politicized Religion in South Asia* (Jeffery and Basu 1998:x), her focus was again on Islam (Feldman 1998). In this article and focusing on Bangladesh, she posed the argument that "the religious resurgence is part of a broader 'development crisis,' which frames efforts at nation-building and constructions of nationalism and identity politics" (Feldman 1998:35).³⁰

International issues were also being examined through the lens of demography and population dynamics. Work by Joe Stycos (e.g. 1999) and Dudley Poston (e.g. 1990), for instance, was joined by additions to the Department in the 1990s of Lindy Williams, Doug Gurak, and Mary Kritz. With the new faculty came new foci and new interests. Lindy Williams, for example, focused on fertility, childbearing, and family decisions both in the U.S. (e.g. Williams 1994) and internationally (e.g. Williams and Sobieszczyk 1997; Williams, Mehta, and Lin 1999); and she conducted collaborative research in the Philippines and in Thailand.

Intergenerational influence in Singapore and Taiwan:
The role of the elderly in family decisionsLINDY WILLIAMS¹, KALYANI MEHTA² & HUI-SHENG LIN³¹Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, USA; ²Department of Social Work and Psychology, National University of Singapore; ³Taiwan Provincial Institute of Family Planning, Taichung, Taiwan

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For Mary Kritz, her work in Africa, begun at the Rockefeller Foundation, continued when she joined the Department (e.g. Kritz and Gurak 1989; 1992). In the 1990s, Mary published on issues related to gender roles, family planning, and fertility – including several with Paulina Makinwa-Adebusoye (Kritz and Makinwa 1993; 1995; 1999), who was the 1999 Laureate of the International Union of the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) and the first person from Africa to be so recognized (Valin 1999).

Mary's work with the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) came together in the 1990s in her book, *International Migration Systems – A Global Approach* (Kritz, Lim, and Zlotnik 1992). Following a "systems approach" to understanding international migration (Lim 1987), the book was the result of the 1988 IUSSP Seminar on Migration Systems, Processes, and Policies held in Malaysia. The Seminar was the work of the IUSSP Committee on International Migration, for which Mary served as Chair. The Committee's role was "to clarify the operation of international migration systems, processes and policies in different world regions ... and identify sending and receiving countries that were organized into coherent migration systems" (Kritz 2004:2). In addition to her introduction with the United Nation's Hania Zlotnik, among the chapters was an article by Mary on temporary migration of students, professionals, and scientists (Kritz and Cases 1992), as well as one on the importance of social networks in structuring international migration systems by Doug Gurak (Gurak and Cases 1992).

As a collection, the book focused on understanding different aspects of international migration. As one reviewer noted, "The central argument of *International Migration Systems* is that international migration flows are not random but are the result of economic, social, and political connections that have been established, often decades ago, between and among nations" (Loescher 1993:542).³¹ A later statement by the IUSSP described the importance of the book's conclusions that "distinctive international migration systems had evolved in different world regions between countries linked by historical ties, cultural affinities, transportation networks, and geographic proximity and that these systems were sustained by mi-

International Migration Systems

A Global Approach

Edited by

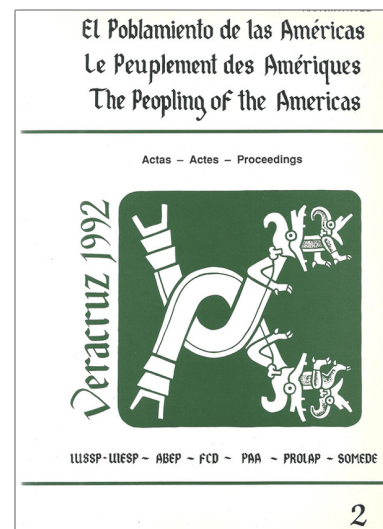
MARY M. KRITZ
LIN LEAN LIM
HANIA ZLOTNIK

30 Routledge re-issued the book *Appropriating Gender: Women's Activism and Politicized Religion in South Asia* in 2011.

31 Other reviews include Moreno (1993) and White (1993).

grant social networks and macro institutional linkage” ([Kritz] 2006:3). The systems approach to international migration followed in the book went on to form the basis for further refinements (e.g. Massey et al. 1998; Bilsborrow and Zlotnik 1995), and the committee’s work established a contemporary foundation for a holistic approach to international migration research (e.g. Caselli, Wunsch, and Vallin 2005).³²

International migration, especially that of Hispanic populations, was a main focal point for Doug Gurak’s research. During the 1990s, Doug continued work he had begun at Fordham University examining the migration patterns and experiences of Dominicans in the United States (e.g. Gurak and Kritz 1996; Gilbertson and Gurak 1992; 1993). Doug’s work also extended to the experiences of migrants from Puerto Rico (e.g. Falcón, Gurak, and Powers 1990; Falcón and Gurak 1994). Having served as a member of the Advisory Panel on Puerto Rican Poverty for the National Puerto Rican Coalition (in conjunction with SSRC and the Ford Foundation), Doug and Louis Falcón’s “The Puerto Rican Family and Poverty: Complex Paths to Poor Outcomes” was part of the Coalition’s publication *Breaking Out of the Cycle of Poverty* (Gurak and Falcón 1990). In 1992, Doug and Mary co-authored “Household Composition Influences on the Employment of Dominican and Colombian Women in Origin and Destination Contexts” in another IUSSP publication – *The Peopling of the Americas* (Gurak and Kritz 1992). Including Mary’s “The British and Spanish Migration Systems in the Colonial Era” (Kritz 1992), the four volumes contained the multilingual articles presented at the IUSSP’s 1992 meeting in Veracruz, Mexico.



The Population and Development Program (PDP)

Population and Development unit has new director and mission

By William Holder

The Population and Development Program is marking its 30th birthday with a new director and a mission to focus resources on sub-Saharan Africa.

"Africa is the greatest challenge, the poorest continent, the one with the greatest population growth," said Douglas Gurak, professor of rural sociology, who took over leadership of the program last fall from J. Mayone Stycos, professor of rural sociology. The sub-Saharan region is portrayed by the media as war-torn and drought-stricken, but, he added, its rich

cultural and social heritage defy such sweeping generalizations.

Since ushering the International Population Program into the academic world in 1962, Stycos oversaw its development as well as its name change and move in 1989 from the College of Arts and Sciences to the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, where it has natural links to programs in international agriculture and nutrition. The program now has eight population specialists plus roughly 25 affiliates who participate to varying extents in its activities.

The program's previous orientation toward

Latin America, and to a lesser extent toward Asia, began to shift with the arrival of Gurak and other population specialists in the late 1980s. The shift came even though Gurak and other colleagues had focused on other regions. As a professor of sociology at Fordham University and as a research associate at the Center for Policy Research in New York, Gurak carried out studies of population characteristics and migration of Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and Colombians.

His own research is now focused on the health-care system of Nigeria. He is conducting a project with faculty at the University of

Nigeria-Nsukka to survey 2,000 women in an effort to discover how Nigerian women make use of a complex health system and how their decisions affect infant mortality.

Building links with institutions in Africa is one of the program's goals, Gurak said, as putting Cornell doctoral graduates into African academic and governmental positions. The program now has 18 doctoral students, seven of whom are Africans.

Gurak received a B.S. in sociology from Rutgers in 1966, and his M.S. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1969 and 1973.

"Population and Development unit has new director and mission" read the article headline in the *Cornell Chronicle* introducing Doug Gurak as the new head of the Population and Development Program (PDP) (1993:4). In addition to having its first new

leader since the program began, PDP was marking its 30th anniversary ("Population" 1993:4). Originally established in the Department of Sociology in 1962 by Joe Stycos and called the International Population Program (Stycos, Feldt, and Myers 1964), in 1989 both Stycos and the program moved to the Department of Rural Sociology and was renamed the Population and Development Program. In the fall of 1992, Stycos stepped down and Doug Gurak took over the reins.

While under Stycos, the program's orientation had been mostly towards Latin America. With new leadership came a new focus. "Africa is the greatest challenge, the poorest continent, the one with the greatest population growth," Doug told the *Cornell Chronicle* reporter ("Population" 1993:4). With its focus on capacity building in Africa, PDP worked to build linkages with institutions and to train and place its graduates ("Population" 1993:4).³³

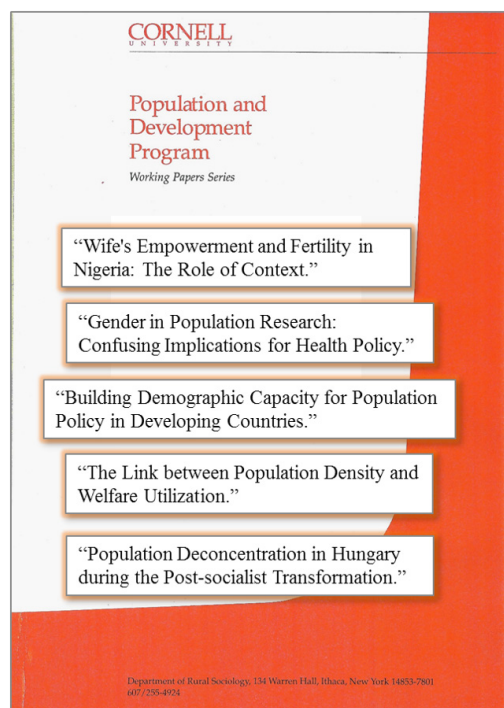
Building links with institutions in Africa is one of the program's goals, Gurak said, as putting Cornell doctoral graduates into African academic and governmental positions. The program now has 18 doctoral students, seven of whom are Africans.

32 Doug's article with Fe Caces has been cited over 500 times (Gurak and Caces 1992). Google scholar accessed Jan. 16, 2017.

33 Just as the PDP program had reflected Joe Stycos' interests, so too did the turn to Africa reflect the work of Doug Gurak. In their note for the Department's 1991 holiday letter, Doug and Mary called it "the year of Nigeria for both of us" (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1991:9). With substantial grant funding from USAID, Kritz and Gurak made multiple trips to Nigeria, and conducted extensive field work; Mary examined the linkages between women's status and fertility, while Doug examined

A key focus of the PDP program in the 1990s was to coordinate research and collaboration on population. Working with scholars from many diverse fields and with university centers, those associated with PDP worked in areas such as population in international contexts, in the domestic U.S., and in relation to issues of environment, communities, and families.³⁴ In 1992, PDP began its bi-weekly brown bag lunch presentations on population and related works.

Begun in 1987, the Population and Development Working Paper Series supported and published a wide array of research. During the 1990s, the series reflected many different interests, carried international and domestic research, the work of faculty in the Department, faculty in the Development Sociology graduate field (e.g. Chi 1994), and research with and by graduate students (e.g. D. Brown and Schafft 1999; Fang 1993; Nogle 1993). Geographies covered in the series spanned the world, including the U.S. and New York State, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, China, Chile, Africa, Nigeria, Malaysia, Taiwan, Japan, Costa Rica, Peru, the Philippines, India, and Hungary.



Of the more than 100 working papers produced during the 1990s that are listed in online catalogue WorldCat,³⁵ research covered in the series addressed demographic processes and topics, such as international and domestic migration (e.g. Kritz and Hsin 1993; Rayer and Brown 1998), fertility (e.g. Kritz, Makinwa, and Gurak 1997), and childbearing (e.g. Williams, Piccinino, and Abma 1998). Other work addressed larger issues, assessed needed research, or examined methodological practices (e.g. Basu 1997; Kritz 1990a; Stycos 1995; Williams, Sobieszczyk, and Perez 1997). Topics in the working paper series even included HIV/AIDS (Thieme and Castillo-Chávez 1990), welfare use among Southeast Asian Refugees (Hirschl, Gurak, and Tran 1994), and migration impacts of climate change (Kritz 1990b).³⁶

With financial support for PDP and for students through multi-year grants from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, in addition to coordinating research efforts, the PDP program continued to support graduate training in the PDP concentration of the Development Sociology graduate field.³⁷ Students studying in Population and Development came from all over the world, including the U.S., the Philippines, Eritrea, China, Japan, India, the Democratic Re-

public of Congo, and Mozambique (Gurak 2005). PDP also provided students research support and assistance to attend professional conferences, such as those held by the Population Association of America and the Rural Sociological Society (Gurak 2005).

Stepping into the Future

During the 1990s, strategic planning and public accountability became important watch words. Challenges to higher education included questions about continued federal funding, public resistance to tuition increases, and state budget cuts (Altschuler and Kramnick 2014:355). In response, Cornell engaged in a variety of comprehensive planning efforts (Altschuler and Kramnick 2014:254; 355-370) and sought to overhaul and streamline the university's use of technology in its operations (Altschuler and Kramnick 2014:372; "Overhauling the

mother's health-seeking behavior during crises for recently born children.

34 Materials provided by Mary Kritz.

35 WorldCat.org search conducted 24 January 2017.

36 Some working papers went on to be published in books or in peer-reviewed journals (e.g. Rank and Hirschl 1993a; 1993b; Stycos and Pfeffer 1996; 1999).

37 Hewlett monies were also used for assistantships, to support student research, and to provide institutional support, including computers and maintaining the PDP library (Gurak 2005).

Way CU Does Business” 1996; Rudan 2005).

In 1995-1996, CALS conducted its own planning and in the process identified 6 key foci that distinguished its work: agriculture; community, human and rural resources; environmental and natural resources; food and nutrition; international development; and life sciences (CALS 1997/8:3; Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:3). As the Department’s 1997 review noted, the Department contributed to all 6 “pillars” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:22[3]).³⁸

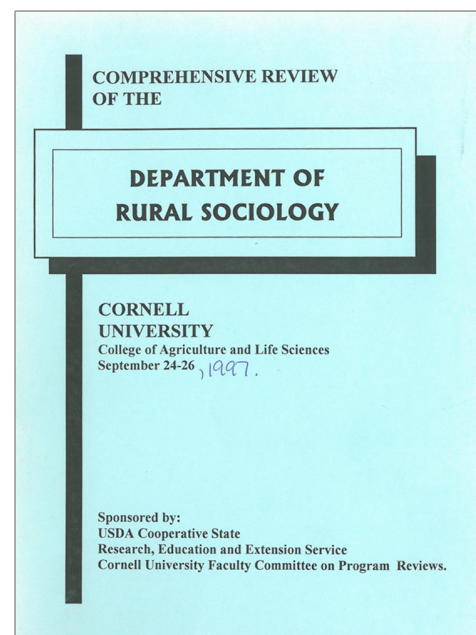
As the Department’s work continued to develop over the decade, by the latter years the unit’s review summarized its work and approach as being “organized by a concern for understanding the determinants and consequences of societal development with particular reference to the areas of environment, community, governance and population” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997/98:20[1]). Yet within the pages lay another important shift.

While the formal change was yet to come, the 1990s was the last decade in which the Department would have “Rural Sociology” in its name. Writing in the 1991 holiday letter, Department chair Dudley Poston wrote: “In my estimation, Cornell’s department of rural sociology no longer merely has relations with the parent discipline; our department is now as sociological in orientation, pursuit and activity as most of the other sociology departments in the country” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1991:5). Reflecting the changes that had been underway, the 1997 review named Development Sociology as the unit’s “Central Intellectual Orientation,” and the Department positioned itself not within Departments of Rural Sociology, but other Departments of Sociology and the larger discipline of Sociology itself (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997: 20-23[2-4]).³⁹ Its unique combination of scholarship in its four key areas, the self-review noted, not only distinguished the Department, but gave it its “comparative advantage among American departments of sociology” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:20[4]).

Instruction and Degrees

Since the 1980s, the number of undergraduate majors in rural sociology grew considerably, to about 50 majors a year for the 1990s (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:3[16]). To support and recognize undergraduate majors, the Department Review noted two awards bestowed by the Department. The Sanderson Award, named for the Department’s first chair Dwight Sanderson, recognized that year’s outstanding graduating senior; and the Larson Award, named for Olaf Larson, was given to the outstanding junior (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:4[12]).

Each year, more than 1,000 students were enrolled in the Department’s undergraduate classes, which included both students in the Department and those from other Colleges. While RS101 “Introduction to Rural Sociology” had the largest enrollments, with many students seeking to fulfill their general requirements, other courses also had large enrollments. RS206 “Gender and Society” averaged 96 students a year, and both RS200 “Social Problems” and RS324 “Environment and Society” averaged over 50 students a year (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:1[9]).⁴⁰



38 The Department’s 1997 review was the first one conducted by the newly established Faculty Committee on Program Review (FCPR), which had established a university-wide review system for departments, centers, and degree-granting graduate fields (D. Brown 1998; Faculty Senate 1996-1998).

39 While the Department situated itself among Departments of Sociology, despite talk over the years of combining the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology (e.g. “Summaries” 1975:12), maintaining a separate department remained paramount. As David explained, “our distinct mission-oriented program would be diluted if it were merely combined with the rest of Sociology as another concentration” (D. Brown 1998:1).

40 In the 1990s, undergraduate study in the Department was organized along three main areas: development sociology; population, environment, and society; and social data and policy analysis (Cornell University 1990:42-43; Cornell University

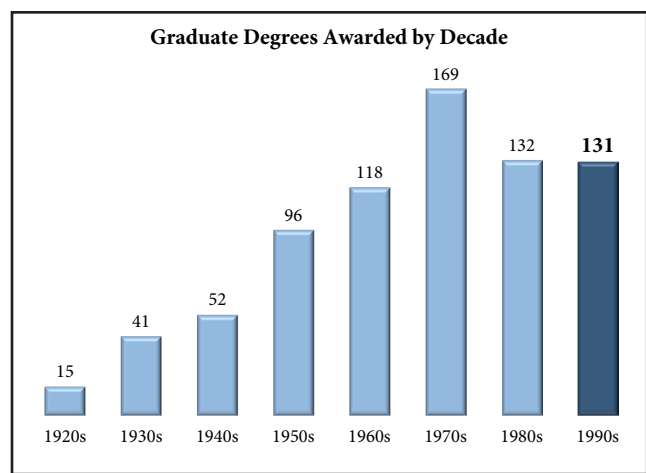
The 1990s

As Cornell sought to increase student access to courses all across the university, cross-listing undergraduate courses with other programs and departments became more of the norm (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:6[14]). In 1990, only two undergraduate courses offered in the Department were cross-listed: RS201 “Population Dynamics” (also Sociology 205) and RS301 “Theories of Society” (also Sociology 401) (Cornell University 1990:87-91). By the 1998-1999 academic year, this had increased substantially. Of the 25 courses under the 400-level listed for the Department that academic year, 19 were cross-listed with another department or program. Of those cross-listed with Sociology, about half were taught by faculty in the Department (Cornell University 1998:99-104).

While not a main focus for the Department, courses continued to be listed with the American Indian Program – one of three departments to do so (“American-Indian Educators” 1991; Cornell University 1998:41).⁴¹ In addition to RSOC175 “Issues in Contemporary American Indian Societies” and RSOC367 “American Indian Tribal Governments,” which had already been taught through the Department, by the 1998-1999 academic year new courses had been added.⁴²

Cross-Listed Courses in the Department	
Course in Rural Sociology	Cross Listed with
101 Introduction to Sociology	Sociology 101
103 Introduction to Sociology: Microsociology	Sociology 103
105 Economic Sociology	Sociology 105
200 Social Problems	Sociology 200
201 Population Dynamics	Sociology 202
202 Religion and Family in the U.S.	Sociology 201
205 International Development	Sociology 206
209 Social Inequality	Sociology 208
215 Organizations: An Introduction	Sociology 215
302 Evaluating Statistical Evidence	Sociology 301
324 Environment and Society	Sociology 324 [and Science and Technology Studies 324]
370 Comparative Issues in Social Stratification	Sociology 371
175 Issues in Contemporary American Indian Societies	American Indian Studies 175
318 Ethnohistory of the Northern Iroquois	American Indian Studies 318
367 American Indian Tribal Governments	American Indian Studies 367
206 Gender and Society	Women's Studies 206
324 Environment and Society	Science and Technology Studies 324 [and Sociology 324]
220 Sociology of Health of Latinos and Ethnic Minorities	Latino Studies Program 220
331 Demographic Analysis in Business and Government	Agricultural, Resource, and Managerial Economics 416
408 Human Fertility in Developing Nations	Biology and Society 404
418 Population Policy	Biology and Society 414

Compiled from Cornell University (1998:99-104)



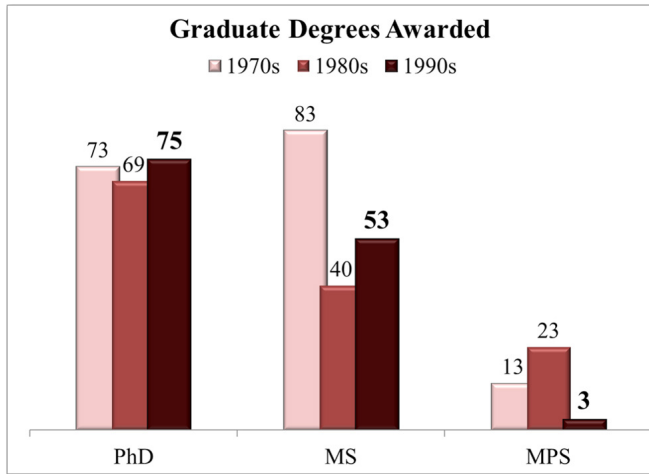
For graduate-level instruction, most course numbers and titles offered in the Department remained the same throughout the decade. Still, a few did change and new courses were added (Cornell University 1990:87-91; Cornell University 1998:99-104). RSOC719, for instance, changed from “Regression and Path Analysis” in 1990-1991 to “Logistic and Log Linear Models” by the 1998-1999 academic year. Three other graduate courses changed names during the 1990s, including RSOC721 “Ecological Perspectives on Social Change” which became “Foundations of Environmental Sociology,” and RSOC730 “Issues in the Sociology of Development” that became “Sociology of Global Change.” New courses introduced by the end of

the 1990s also reflected new and growing areas, such as Shelly Feldman’s RSOC671 “Epistemological Challenges to Social Science Paradigms: A Feminist Inquiry,” Lyson’s RSOC661 “Sustainable Agriculture and Development,” and RSOC675 changed from “The Political Economy of Policy and Planning in Third World States” to “Global Patterns of International Migration.”

1998:51). Following the College’s reorganizing its work around 6 major areas, in the latter part of the decade, new courses for undergraduates included RS340 Food and Agriculture in Modern Society and RS520 Managing Local Environmental Systems (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:2[10]).

41 The American Indian Program “won its official administrative status” in 1982, and in 1991 the Program saw the new facility called Akwe:kōn (pronounced uh-GWAY-go) open. Part residence hall and part program house, it was the first in the country “built to celebrate Native culture & heritage” (American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program [2016a]). In 1994, Akwe:kōn hosted the newly formed Native American Alumni Association’s meeting with 300 alumni present (“Native American Alumni” 1994). In 1998, Akwe:kōn won the James A. Perkins Prize for Interracial Understanding and Harmony (American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program [2016b]).

42 Marking the initiation of the American Indian Studies undergraduate minor, courses were cross-listed with the new academic degree (Unser 2001:37), and both RSOC100 “Introduction to American Indian Studies” and RSOC175 “Issues in Contemporary American Indian Societies” were required of its students (Cornell University 1998:41).



As graduate-level courses evolved, the overall number of graduate degrees remained stable in the 1990s. In Dudley's 1991 holiday letter: "We have over 70 graduate students in residence" (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1991:4). Even with the stability in numbers, as in other aspects of the Department, changes lay underneath.

One change in the 1990s was the large decrease in the number of MPS (Master's of Professional Science) degrees granted. Begun in 1974, the degree option had quickly become popular – producing 13 degrees by that decade's end. During the 1980s, the number of MPS degrees granted increased to 23. But in the 1990s the number had declined to only 3 MPS degrees.

In contrast to the MPS, the number of Master's (MS) degrees rebounded in the 1990s. The number increased from 40 in the 1980s to 53 granted in the 1990s. The number of PhD degrees also increased from 69 to 75 degrees granted. Because of these changes, the proportion of graduate degrees that were PhD degrees increased from 43.2% of graduate degrees granted in the 1970s, to 52.3% in the 1980s, and to 57.3% of all graduate degrees granted in the 1990s.

Leadership and Legacy

Department faculty's engagement in leadership roles in the College, the University, and in professional organizations continued throughout the 1990s.⁴³ Like Jim Zuiches and David Brown who served in College administration, in 1994 Bill Lacy followed suit by heading Extension after Lucinda Noble retired.⁴⁴ Department faculty also served in college and university governance, including the College Curriculum Committee, University Committee on Education Policy, the Committee of Academic Programs and Policies, and both the College and University Faculty Senates.

But these roles were just some of the many held by Department faculty and Department members. Faculty also provided leadership in university-wide programs. Shelly Feldman, for instance, served as Associate Director for the Program on International Development and Women, and continued as Director when it became the Program on Gender and Global Change ("Cornell Program" 1997). And, from 1994 to 1998, she was the Director of the South Asia Program at Cornell.



Bill Lacy

For most of the decade (1992-99), Phil McMichael was Director of the International Political Economy Program at the Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies,⁴⁵ which was formally begun in 1996. Interviewed by the *Cornell Chronicle* about the second regional conference to be hosted the next year, Phil described the field this way: "Political economists examine issues such as the social impact of economic change and the political relations between social groups such as producers and consumers or employers and employees. They

⁴³ Most of the information on professional leadership roles was compiled using faculty vitas.

⁴⁴ From 1994 to 1998 Bill Lacy served as Director of Cornell Cooperative Extension and Associate Dean of the Colleges of Agriculture and Life Sciences, and Human Ecology at Cornell University. Bill's coming to Cornell marked a return of sorts, as he had received his bachelor's degree in ILR from Cornell in 1964 ("William Lacy is Elected" 1997).

⁴⁵ The Center for International Studies was re-named the Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies in 1991. The Einaudi Center's roots date back to the 1960s and include the Cornell International Institute for Food, Agriculture and Development (CIIFAD), which itself had grown out of the pre-existing Rural Development Committee in which Department faculty had participated (Mario Einaudi Center [2016]).

propose an interdisciplinary analysis of major social questions, combining politics, economics, sociology and cultural analysis” (“Cornell Graduate Students” 1997).

Professional organizations were another place where the Department could be found in leadership roles, and it was the Rural Sociological Society where the Department had its deepest roots, dating back to Dwight Sander-son as the Society’s first president. During the 1990s alone, 5 of the 10 presidents of the Rural Sociological So-ciety had connections to the Department. While Fred Buttel would soon leave for the University of Wisconsin, the decade opened with him serving as President in 1990-1991. Dudley described Fred’s Presidential address as “one of the finest and most sociological presidential addresses I have heard at the RSS meetings” (Dept. of Ru-ral Sociology 1991:5; Buttel 1992). Even though he was no longer at Cornell, former Director of Research in the College, Jim Zuiches, was president in 1992-93. The second half of the decade saw three RSS presidents in a row with connections to the Department. First came two PhD alumni: Jan Flora (PhD 1971) who served in 1996-97 and Larry Busch (PhD 1974) who served the next year. For Bill Lacy, his election came at the end of his time as Director of Cornell Extension (“William Lacy is Elected” 1997).

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What Is Right With Rural Sociology

Thomas A. Lyson and Ann R. Tickamyer*

Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York 14853

**Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky 40506-0027*

During the 1990s, Tom Lyson was editor of *Ru-ral Sociology*.⁴⁶ As editor of the journal, Tom or-ganized a special issue with then-RSS President Ann Tickamyer focusing on the theme, “What is Right with Rural Sociology?” Following mul-tiple articles, special issues of journals, and monographs critical of the state of American

sociology, the two placed rural sociology squarely into the fray. But, in contrast to the more pessimistic and discouraging tone of the other works, Tom and Ann “wanted ... articles that showcase our strengths, while simultaneously offering a critical appraisal of rural sociology and its future” (Lyson and Tickamyer 1996:3). The issue contained articles from many different vantage points and included Phil McMichael’s on globaliza-tion, in which he examined how the post developmentalist paradigm opens opportunities for understanding its production and reproduction through local processes (McMichael 1996).

More accolades from the Rural Sociological Society came in 1995 when Frank Young became the second fac-ulty member in the Department to receive the highest recognition bestowed by the Society – Distinguished Rural Sociologist (RSS 1995). Frank followed Olaf Larson, who had received the honor 10 years earlier. Also in the 1990s, four alumni of the Development Sociology PhD were recognized with the same honor: Harry K. Schwarzweller (PhD 1958) in 1990; Louis A. Ploch (PhD 1954) in 1992; Irwin T. Sanders (PhD 1938) in 1993; and Neal Flora (PhD 1970) in 1998.⁴⁷

With far too many roles to name them all individually for every faculty member, Max Pfeffer stands out as emblematic of the ever-present presence of the Department in the Rural Sociological Society. Throughout the decade, and serving in sequential and sometimes overlapping terms, Max was on the Development Commit-tee (1990-93), the Awards committee (1994), co-chaired the Program Committee with Nina Glasgow (1995), served on the Publications Committee (1995-1997), and closed out the decade being elected to the Nomina-tions Committee.

The Rural Sociological Society was not the only professional association in which Department faculty served in leadership roles. Both the International Sociological Association and the American Sociological Association saw the Department’s presence as well. In 1988, the International Sociological Association recognized the RC40 working group as a research committee (Sociology of Agriculture and Food Research Committee) (RC40 2014). Larry Busch (PhD 1974) had served as the Board’s first president and continued to serve until 1994. The next governing board (1994-1998) included Ray Jussame (PhD 1987), who served as the Secretary. In 1998, Phil

46 During Lyson’s term as editor of *Rural Sociology*, several in the Department also served as associate editors for the journal, including Tom Hirschl, David Brown, and Max Pfeffer.

47 Award winners are from Zimmerman (2012).

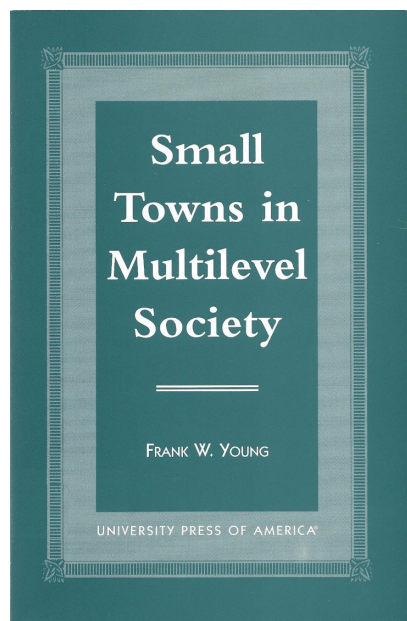
McMichael became President of RC40 with both David Myhre (MS 1991) and Laura Reynolds (PhD 1993) serving as board members until 2000.

The American Sociological Association also engaged several faculty in the Department during the 1990s. In 1995-96, Phil McMichael chaired the ASA's Political Economy of the World-System Section, and from 1996 to 1999 Mary Kritz was a Council Member for the Section on International Migration. Paul Eberts served on the blue-ribbon ASA Taskforce to assess sociology as an undergraduate major. Sponsored by the Association of American Colleges (AAC), the three-year project focused on core concepts and made recommendations about how to strengthen the undergraduate major (Eberts et al. 1990; ASA 1990; Rosich 2005:24).

Other international organizations and professional associations saw Department faculty engaged in leadership roles as well.⁴⁸ Having chaired the Committee on International Migration for the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) in the late 1980s, Mary Kritz then served as an elected member to the Population Association of America's (PAA) Board of Directors. Beginning in 1993, Mary chaired the PAA's International Affairs Committee until 1995. Shelley Feldman held multiple leadership roles in the Association for Asian Studies. From 1994-1997, she served as a member of the South Asia Council, chairing the Council from 1995 to 1997. During this same time, Shelley was also a member of the Joint Committee for South Asia at the Social Science Research Council.

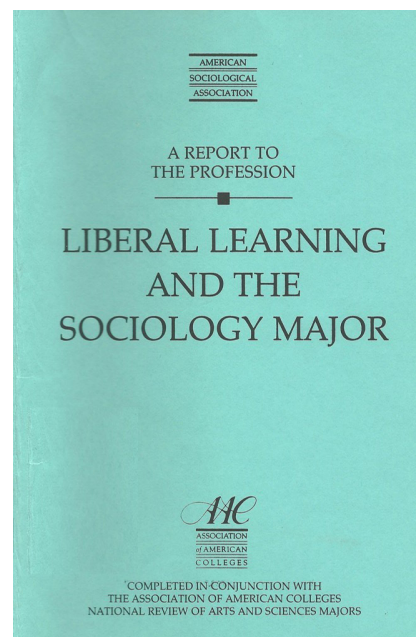
Not Done Yet

While retirement might signal the closing of one's career, this was rarely the case for faculty in the Department. After his retirement, Frank Young's work focused on infant mortality (e.g. F. Young and Garcia 1996), population health, and other health issues such as those shared with Nina Glasgow (F. Young and Glasgow 1994; F. Young and Glasgow 1998). In 1996, Frank's article "Small Town in Mass Society Revisited" examined macro forces in a small New York town (F. Young 1996). Three years later, Frank published his next book *Small Towns in Multilevel Society* (F. Young 1999). As Albert Luloff explained in his review, Frank's book brought together his career-long interests in the "structural dimensions of community" and developed a coherent theory of its impacts and role in contemporary society (Luloff 2001:651).⁴⁹



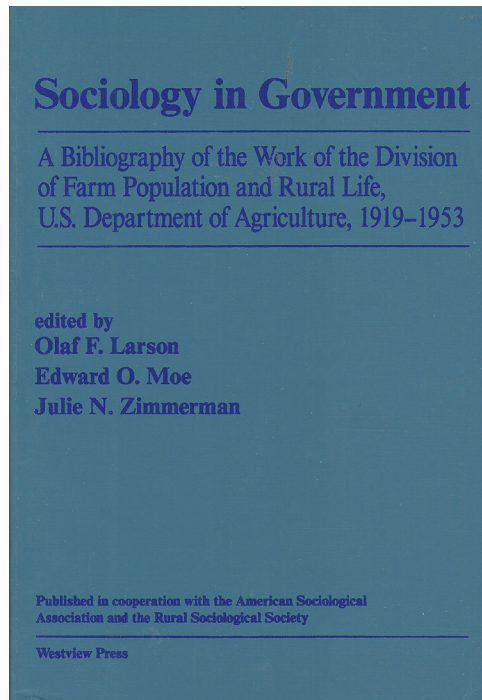
Phil Taietz and Olaf Larson both remained professionally active throughout the 1990s, even though both retired prior to the decade. As Phil had found in his 1967 research, emeriti faculty "who were allowed role continuity exhibited a higher degree of continued engagement than those required to adopt new roles" (Achenbaum and Albert 1995:344; Roman and Taietz 1967). Needless to say, the Department's investment in a shared office for Phil and Olaf paid good dividends (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:21[5]).

For Phil Taietz, part of his role-continuity laid in continuing to teach a summer course on the Sociology of Aging (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1991; Erick-



- 48 As in its earlier years, Department faculty also continued to be involved in international service and organizations. From 1992-1993, Mary Kritz was a consultant for the World Health Organization's Committee on Resources for Research of the Special Programme of Research. Also in the 1990s, Joe Stycos served on the planning committee for the Global Omnibus Environmental Survey of the Human Dimension of Global Environmental Change Programme, chairing it in 1996 ("Population Studies Pioneer" 2016).
- 49 For much more on Frank's career, watch Gene Erickson's interview <https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/42408>

son, Larson, and Young [nd]:2); and with Nina Glasgow, the two organized a national conference on aging with the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP and Dept. of Rural Sociology 1991). Coming full circle, Phil returned to examining the role of emeriti faculty by conducting a 1993 survey “Factors Associated with Continued Professional Productivity of Emeritus Professors at Cornell University,” and a study named “Post-Retirement Productivity and Life Quality of Emeritus Professors” (RMC Staff 2009; Erickson, Larson, and Young [nd]:2; Achenbaum and Albert 1995:345).



Even though Olaf Larson was now in his second decade of “retirement” he remained extremely active. With Minnie Brown’s death, Olaf’s collaborative research on Black farmers was put on hold (M. Brown and Larson 1979). On the other hand, his research on USDA’s Division of Farm Population and Rural Life (DFPRL), the first federal government unit devoted to sociological research on any subject, was taking shape. Olaf initially collaborated on this research with Ed Moe. Both had worked in the unit early in their careers, hence their interest in it during the 1990s. However, the project was yielding much more than either had anticipated when it was initiated. Originally envisioned as a combined publication, the unit’s bibliography was split off from the book and was published separately (Larson, Moe, and Zimmerman 1992). Meanwhile, work continued on the accompanying book (Larson and Zimmerman 2003), and Larson and Zimmerman would go on to maintain an active research partnership for the remainder of Larson’s life.

With his already long tenure in rural sociology, Olaf was increasingly seen as one of the key sources for understanding the history of rural sociology (Wimberley 1991). With both Ron Wimberley (at North

Carolina State University) and Robin Williams (in the Department of Sociology at Cornell), Olaf revisited the “dismissal” of Carl Taylor from North Carolina State University (Larson, Williams, and Wimberley 1999). Using the AAUP (American Association of University Professors) investigation and not yet protected by a tenure system, they concluded that “the university president had Taylor dismissed because of deterioration in their interpersonal relations and the cumulative effect of anti-liberal, conservative forces in the state at the time” (Larson, Williams and Wimberley 1999:533).⁵⁰ In 2007, their article was reprinted in the book *Schools as Dangerous Places: A Historical Perspective* (Potts and O’Donoghue 2007).

Life in the Department

While faculty faces and department orientations shift over time, the early 1990s opened with the Department recognizing its 75th anniversary. The 1991 Department holiday letter reprinted Gene’s “Evolution of the Department” article, and Dudley Poston added to Gene’s history (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1991). But that was not the end of recognizing the anniversary. Ever aware of promotional opportunities, the next year Department chair David Brown arranged for an exhibit commemorating the anniversary. The exhibit filled all six display cases in the lobby of Mann Library, and portions of it were subsequently displayed at the Rural Sociological Society and the International Rural Sociological Association’s conferences, both held on the campus of Pennsylvania State University (Zimmerman and Larson 1992a; 1992b; “Exhibits” 1992).

50 After North Carolina, Carl Taylor became head of the USDA’s Division of Farm Population and Rural Life (Larson et al. 2003; Smith 1975). Taylor also followed Department faculty member and chair Dwight Sanderson and served as the second President of the Rural Sociological Society (1939-1940). While employed at the USDA, Taylor followed Sanderson again, serving 5 years later as the 36th President of the American Sociological Association in 1946. Taylor’s ASA Presidential address was notably titled “Sociology and Common Sense” (Taylor 1947). While many of Taylor’s papers were destroyed in a house fire, some that survived can be found in Cornell’s Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections (Wagner 1972).

Compared to the faculty photo taken at the Department's 50th anniversary, 25 years later the faculty had more facial hair and fewer ties. With the additions of Nina Glasgow, Mary Kritz, and Lindy Williams, Department faculty temporarily grew from one woman to four women. Since during the 1990s both Nina Glasgow and Mary Kritz became Senior Research Associates, and Lindy did not join the faculty until 1993, Shelley Feldman was the only woman to be a professorial faculty member for the full decade.⁵¹



Norma Nemecek

Even as staff member Norma Nemecek was recognized for her 30 years of service to Cornell ("30 Year Awardees" 1992), Department life in the 1990s was marked by resource and staff reductions. As desktop and personal computers became ubiquitous during the 1990s, the nature of work was also being transformed. With the web growing, information was increasingly available on it and, in 1992, emails could include an attached file for the first time. Replacing transparencies and overhead projectors, in 1994 the presentation software PowerPoint now came bundled with the Microsoft Office suite. Other developments during the 1990s included the start of online course management systems.⁵² Developed by a student at Cornell, in 1997 CourseInfo provided websites for about 25 different courses

at the university ("Senior's Company" 1997), and after its merger with Blackboard, it became the university-wide online course management system (Kubarek 1999).

All of these changes meant that Department faculty no longer needed personal assistants to type manuscripts, prepare instructional materials, file, and buffer them from direct contact with students, colleagues, and the public.⁵³ And, since faculty were increasingly responsible for a wide range of clerical responsibilities that had previously been handled by the Department's professional staff, this too impacted life in the Department because most staff retirements and resignations were not replaced.

As Dudley Poston noted in the holiday letter, changing state finances meant that in the previous two years the Department had to reduce its support staff by nearly one-half (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1991:5). The same trend was noted in the Department's 1997 review. Since the previous review, regular staff support declined from 9.1 FTEs to 6.7 FTEs – a nearly 25% reduction (Dept.



Professional Staff in 1997.

Staff Paid by Department's Core Budget and FTEs

Administrative Manager	Pat Avery	1.0
Account Clerk	Nancy Winch	0.7
Chair's Admin. Aide	Nancy Pierce	1.0
Graduate Field Admin. Aide	Tracy Aagaard	1.0*

* Incl. 0.3FTE for *Rural Sociology* Journal

Faculty Admin. Aides:

Brenda Creeley	1.0
Beatrix Johnson	0.5
Letha Padgett	1.0
Beverley Wells	0.5

Staff Paid by Grants and FTEs

Admin. Manager - PDP	Josephine Velez	0.5
Admin. Aid - FAP	Joan Padula	1.0
Librarian - PDP	Beatrix Johnson	0.5

(Dept of Rural Sociology (1997:[6])

51 In 1991, the Faculty Council of Representative's Committee on Affirmative Action assessed the gender and minority diversity of faculty and other positions on the Cornell campus (University Faculty 1990-1992). The report attached to the minutes noted "of 105 departments and units, 49 have no minority faculty, and 72 have no African-, Hispanic-, or Native-American faculty members." Moreover, women were primarily in non-faculty positions, especially lecturer. Similar trends were evident in the Department, which had only 1 female tenure-track faculty member and no minority faculty members at the time of the report.

52 Change was so rapid during the decade that the 1998 Condition of Education report noted that "Between fall 1994 and 1997, Internet access in public schools increased from 35 to 78 percent" (1998:40).

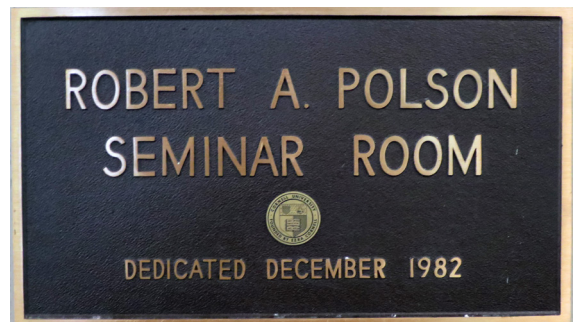
53 Thank you to David Brown for adding this insight.

of Rural Sociology 1997:[6]). The review also noted that the numbers represented a “minimum threshold” of support, and “any further reductions would affect the Department’s productivity” (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:[6]). By the end of the decade, even more changes came as Le Padgett retired and Nancy Pierce left. Nancy was replaced with Bev Munson, “who had been Assistant to the Chair in the days of Gene Erickson and Dudley Poston” (McMichael 1999).

The 1990s saw a number of other changes in the Department. Emeriti faculty were moved from their individual offices into shared offices (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1997:21[5]). The longstanding tradition of annual holiday letters containing individual notes from each member in the Department ended with the 1991 letter marking the Department’s 75th Anniversary. Soon, it was replaced with a summary letter to alumni and friends written by the Department chair. The decade also saw the start of a Department newsletter. The name for the newsletter was the winning suggestion from a competition for graduate students – the student with the winning name won a year’s subscription to the *New York Times*.⁵⁴ However humorous it seemed at the time, the name “Nuts and Twigs” did not last long and was replaced the next year with the name “Rural Sociology Update.”

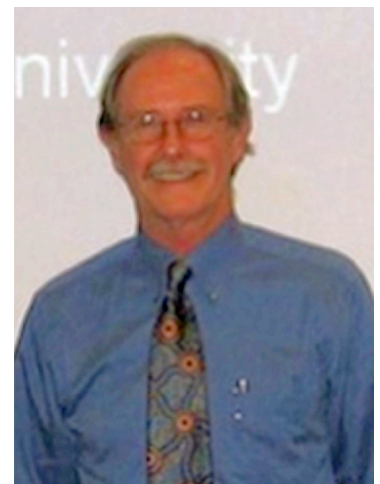
In addition to staff changes, transitions in the 1990s included new faculty hires such as Nina Glasgow, Max Pfeffer, and Lindy Williams. Other transitions included the retirements of Frank Young, Gene Erickson, and Ruth Young. Still others left for new adventures elsewhere: Fred Buttel went to the University of Wisconsin; Dudley Poston returned to Texas, going to Texas A&M University; and Bill Lacy went to UC-Davis to be Vice Provost for University Outreach and International Programs.

Several deaths in the 1990s included both faculty and notable PhD alumni. In 1999, William Reeder passed away (Erickson, Larson, and Capener [nd]; Capener, Erickson, and Larson 1999), Milt Barnett in 1994 (Barker, Coward, and Feldman [nd]; 1995), and Bob Polson in 1997 (Larson 1997; Larson, Taietz, and Erickson [nd]). David noted in his annual holiday letter how Bob “helped establish this department’s, and college’s, strong and important focus on international development” (D. Brown 1998:2). Two years later, his wife Ruth also passed away (McMichael 1999). Janet Fitchen was an unexpected loss during the 1990s. She had been slated to join the Department faculty, but died before she could (D. Brown 1996; [no author] 1995). Among the PhD alumni, both Lee Coleman and Minnie Brown passed during the 1990s (Ford 1995; Marsh and Larson 1996).



David Brown

Like the continuity that marked many of the faculty faces in the Department, there was also continuity in Department chairs. For most of the decade, David Brown served in the leadership role. In his final holiday letter as chair, David not only looked forward to being “just a professor” again, but noted that it would be the first time in 20 years he would be without administrative responsibilities (D. Brown 1999). Nevertheless, the very next year David was elected president of the Rural Sociological Society. David’s time as Department chair was bookended by Dudley Poston finishing his term on one end and Phil McMichael beginning his time in the corner office on the other.



Phil McMichael

54 While it was likely the only submission, the student who won the competition was Julie Zimmerman (PhD 1997).

Department Faculty in the 1990s

Department Faculty in the 1990s

Person	Start date	End date	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Walt Coward	1973	1991										
Fred Buttel	1978	1992										
Dudley Poston	1988	1992										
Frank Young	1962	1995										
Eugene Erickson	1967	1996										
Paul Eberts	1966	2008										
Joe Francis	1969	2014										
Chuck Geisler	1979	2014										
Joe Stycos	1987	2000										
Tom Lyson	1987	2006										
Doug Gurak	1989	2015										
Mary Kritz*	1990	2014										
Shelley Feldman	1984	Present										
Tom Hirschl	1986	Present										
David Brown	1987	Present										
Phil McMichael	1988	Present										
Nina Glasgow*	1992	Present										
Max Pheffer	1993	Present										
Lindy Williams	1993	Present										
William Lacy	1994	1998										
Paul Gellert	1997	2006										

* = Began as a faculty appointment

Does not include courtesy appointments or visiting appointments such as Odd Grande, Galia Tagumpay Castillo, Minnie Brown, Ed Moe, etc.

2000 and Beyond

As the clock struck midnight on January 1st 2000 and the new millennium began to unfold, few could have imagined how different the coming years would be. Just one year later at 8:59am on September 11th, the world changed as terrorists hijacked four passenger planes. Known as “9/11” (nine eleven) in recognition of the date, two of the planes flew into New York City’s World Trade Center, one plane hit the Pentagon, and a fourth was downed in a Pennsylvania field by passengers thwarting the attacker’s intent. Nearly 3,000 people were killed that day, with twice as many more wounded.



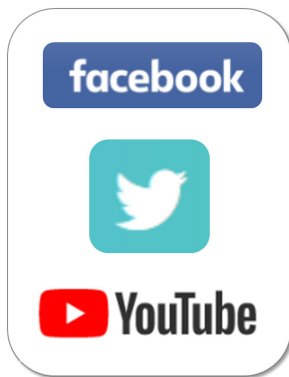
In the years following 9/11, the Department of Homeland Security was created, Congress passed the Patriot Act, and a prison on the U.S. military base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, was opened. The subsequent invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq began the long-term U.S. military action in the region. A new acronym, TSA (Transportation Security Administration), would come to characterize both a promise of safety as well as some frustration for the flying public. In 2003, Saddam Hussein was captured but it was not until 2010 that Osama Bin Laden – the mastermind of 9/11 – was killed.

Internationally, the new millennium saw the European Union establish the Eurozone and the Euro (€) became the common currency throughout. Globally, a food price crisis unfolded, North Korea conducted its first nuclear test, Russia invaded and annexed the Ukrainian Crimea, and terrorist attacks and bombings around the world included those in Iraq, London, and Paris. The decade and years thereafter saw an earthquake in Haiti, as well as two major tsunamis – one in Banda Aceh, Indonesia, and one in Japan that destroyed the Fukushima nuclear power plant, leading to the evacuation of 470,000 people from the surrounding area.

As images filled the news, the world seemed to be shrinking. In 2014, the first case of Ebola in the United States was certified, and bombings at the Boston Marathon connected world events to everyday lives. With Arctic sea ice hitting a record low and a record heat wave in Europe, human-caused climate change was a concern for many, but still a debate for others. Meanwhile, Hurricane Katrina became one of the worst natural disasters to hit the U.S. Killing 1,836 people, it devastated the city of New Orleans and the coastal areas of Mississippi and Alabama, including Biloxi and Gulfport.

Despite all of the changes in the previous decades, technology seemed to change at breakneck speed. Wikipedia and Facebook were soon followed by YouTube, Twitter, and Snapchat. Netflix, DVRs, and cable-produced series changed the meaning of “must see TV.” Instead of a computer on every desk, the smart phone brought a

computer to every pocket, incorporating computer technology through “Apps” and engaging online through social media easier. But as the smart phone and social media reshaped the digital world, Internet access was still not universal worldwide, or even in the U.S., as broadband and cell phone coverage bypassed many rural areas.



Even with its many “firsts,” the new millennium saw longstanding tensions rise to the surface. In 2009, the first African American President was elected and then re-elected for a second term. The first woman from a major party ran for President. With the Supreme Court ruling *United States v. Windsor*, gay marriage became federally recognized as legal. On the flip side, the Tea Party entered the political scene and conservatism gained momentum. Following the acquittal of Treyvon Martin’s murderer, three African American women created the online Twitter hashtag #BlackLivesMatter. With the shooting of unarmed Black teenager Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, *Black Lives Matter* became a national movement bringing attention to police shootings, racial profiling, and racial inequality.

A changing sense of insecurity marked the new millennium in other ways as well. The housing crisis and Occupy Wall Street brought attention to the greatest economic inequality in the U.S. since the 1920s. The Great Recession, the worst since the Great Depression, rocked the lives of many. While for most areas in the U.S. recovery from the recession came in about 18 months, for some rural areas recovery remained elusive. Mass shootings entered the public’s lexicon and schools installed metal detectors at their front doors. With death and injury tolls at times reaching as many as 80 people, shooting events included Sandy Hook Elementary School in Connecticut, Fort Hood, Texas, and a movie theater in Aurora, Colorado. The shooting at a gay nightclub in Orlando, Florida, was the largest mass shooting in the U.S. to that point, killing 50 people and wounding 53 more. Despite the shootings, for many, gun control remained a controversial topic.

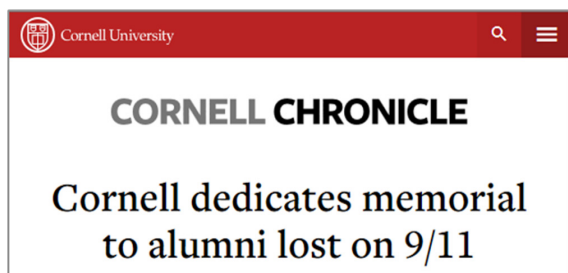
Deaths of actors and musicians – familiar to youth who were now not only adults but thinking about retirement – ranged from Robin Williams, Prince, Michael Jackson, and Whitney Houston to Johnny Cash, Ray Charles, Dan Fogelberg, Patrick Swayze, George Harrison, and Farrah Fawcett. Even Pluto was demoted from being considered a planet. The beginning years of the new millennium saw the start of turning DC and Marvel comics into movies, both *Harry Potter* and *The Hobbit* were brought to the big screen, Halle Berry was the first Black woman to win a Best Actress Oscar, the Kentucky-bred horse American Pharoah won the first Triple Crown in nearly 40 years, and the Chicago Cubs won their first World Series since 1908.

The Department saw its own changes during this time. Three years into the new millennium, the Department’s name changed for the third time in its history. No longer the Department of Rural Sociology, it was now called the Department of Development Sociology.

A New World Emerges

September 11th, 2001, was a day that brought the world to a standstill, forever changing the U.S. Cornell University lost twenty-one alumni in the 9/11 attacks – nineteen were in the World Trade Center and two were

aboard Flight 93, which crashed in Pennsylvania. Seven days into the struggle to comprehend the magnitude of the events, letters containing anthrax were mailed to news media and U.S. Senate offices. With the news about 9/11 still unfolding, every few days came yet another report of anthrax poisoning, which would kill five people and sicken nearly 20 more. While it was later determined the letters were not part of the 9/11 terrorist attack, that was not immediately clear, and people were warned to watch out for white powder in letters.¹



¹ That same day, Cornell President Hunter Rawlings issued a statement to the Cornell community (“Cornell President” 2001).

For years afterwards, commemorations and remembrances for 9/11 victims continued as countless lives had been touched.² Shelley Feldman spoke at the 5-year anniversary at Cornell in a talk titled “Fear and Loathing: How Militarization Is Reshaping Everyday Life” (“Cornell Faculty to Reflect” 2006; “Remembering Sept. 11” 2006).³ In her article “Time for a National Discussion on Immigration,” Mary Kritz addressed U.S. immigration policy (2002a). Referencing anthrax letters that came one week after 9/11, even the Department’s 2001 holiday letter recounted receiving a letter containing white powder (McMichael 2001:2).⁴



One month after the September 11th attacks, the College sponsored a forum titled “Global Development and Terrorism: Related Topics?” (“Moving Toward a Worldly Understanding” 2001). Organized by IP-CALS, the forum was conducted at the request of CALS Dean Susan Henry (Mario Einaudi

Center [2002]:86).⁵ Development Sociology alumni Larry Busch (PhD 1974) returned to Cornell to speak at the forum.

Issues associated with terrorism, security, and global uncertainty found voice within the Department’s multifaceted roles and work. In addition to teaching DSOC 4810 “Global Conflict and Terrorism” (Cornell 2007:85), Chuck Geisler examined the impacts of the war on terror on property rights and how “states of emergency can redistribute property and related wealth” (Geisler 2009:2).⁶ Using questions from the 2004 Empire State Poll, David Kay and Chuck Geisler joined with Nelson Bills to write a CaRDI report on whether terrorism played a role in residential preferences (Kay, Geisler, and Bills 2007). The paper was later published in *Rural Sociology* (Kay Geisler and Bills 2010). Shelley Feldman’s article, “Social Regulation in the Time of War: Constituting the Current Crisis,” questioned the theoretical treatment of hegemonic projects in the U.S., concluding that “the war on terror is thus best viewed as an aspect of the current neoliberal crisis that is constituted differently across the spatial domains of the global economy” (Feldman 2007:445).

The *Cornell Daily Sun* later reviewed some of the impacts on campus (“Sept. 11” 2001).

- 2 After a number of years, first responders began to suffer from various cancers associated with toxic materials contacted in the 9/11 ruins. The impacts and importance of 9/11 rippled on for years. Immediately following the post-9/11, the U.S. saw a dramatic spike in anti-Muslim bias attacks. While they decreased the next year, they did not return to pre-9/11 levels and would continue to increase for years to come (Kishi 2016).
- 3 Also speaking at the event was Kaushik Basu, the C. Marks Professor of International Studies and spouse of Department faculty member Alaka Basu. In 2016, Cornell installed a permanent memorial in the rotunda of Anabel Taylor Hall, near Cornell’s WWII memorial (“Cornell Dedicates Memorial” 2016; “9/11 Remembrance” 2016).
- 4 As Phil McMichael explained: “The Department experienced a rather traumatic mysterious letter episode in November. One of our staff opened a letter, from a known sender, only to find white powder in it. The Department was cordoned off by the Environmental and Health Safety folks on campus, and we experienced some anxiety and some notoriety on the local news for several days, until tests proved negative for anthrax” (McMichael 2001:2). The incident was also covered in the *Cornell Daily Sun* (“Sections of Warren Hall” 2001).
- 5 As in the earlier decades, Department faculty continued to be active in the many aspects of the Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies. In 2014-2015, for instance, Shelley Feldman continued her role on the Executive Board of the Comparative Muslim Societies Program (CMS), which had been formed in 2001 “to promote the comparative study of Muslims and Muslim Societies between and across the boundaries of traditional area studies programs” (Mario Einaudi Center [2015]:26). The Institute for African Development included Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue, Doug Gurak, and Wendy Wolford as faculty associates (Mario Einaudi Center [2015]:59-60). The Latin American Studies program included Wendy Wolford on the steering committee, Angela Gonzales among the program’s core faculty, and Chuck Geisler, Doug Gurak, and Max Pfeffer among the affiliated faculty; and Joe Stycos among the program’s emeritus faculty (Mario Einaudi Center [2015]:70-73). The South Asia Program included Alaka Basu and Shelley Feldman among the core faculty (Mario Einaudi Center [2015]:77-79); the Southeast Asia Program included Lindy Williams among its core faculty (Mario Einaudi Center [2015]:85-86); and David Brown was active in the Institute for European Studies.
- 6 Prior to moving to the Department, the course “Global Conflict and Terrorism” had been a college-wide course since the 2004-05 academic year (Cornell University 2005:56).

comitant increase in security, and the terms “securitization” and “security society” were coined. Seen as the crisis of social reproduction, Shelley Feldman and Chuck Geisler bridged global processes with daily life, linking the coterminous trends of increasing security measures with increasing insecurity of a different kind.

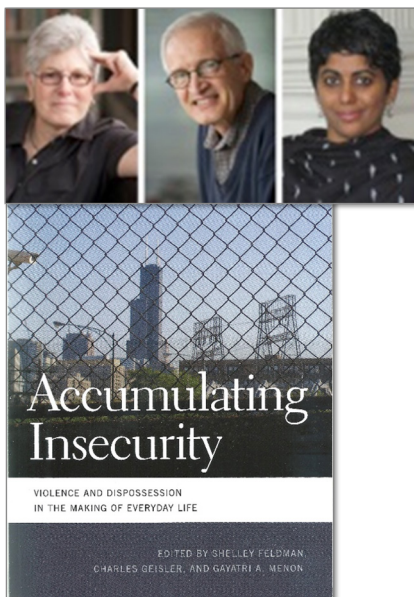


Examining increased securitization amidst increasing insecurity was the focus for the book *Accumulating Insecurity: Violence and Dispossession in the Making of Everyday Life* (Feldman, Geisler, and Menon 2011a). The key ideas examined in the book had begun eight years earlier through an examination of social displacement – including the idea of displacement in place or *in situ* displacement. As Chuck later queried in their “Chats in the Stacks” video in Mann Library: “Can you be displaced without leaving?” (Cornell Cast 2012).

The initial work on displacement had culminated in a 2003 special issue of the *International Social Science Journal*. Using multiple forms of displacement to examine “development as a social project,” Shelley, Chuck, and Louise Silberling (PhD 2002) wrote: “In this collection of essays we interrogate the ways in which people lose control of or access to property, resources, places of residence, social networks, kin relations, and various material resources, as well as how people negotiate identities and shore themselves up against loss, vulnerability, personal insecurity, and threats to selfhood” (Feldman, Geisler, and Silberling 2003:10).⁷ Article authors included Department faculty members Angela A. Gonzales and Paul Gellert, as well as alums Barbara Lynch (PhD 1988), Peter Vandergeest (PhD 1990), and Amita Baviskar (PhD 1992). Their topics ranged from examining the impacts of mega-projects (Gellert and Lynch 2003), American Indian casino development (Gonzales 2003a), partition in Bangladesh (Feldman 2003a), and conservation refugees (Geisler 2003) to projects in Laos (Vandergeest 2003), Brazil (Silberling 2003), and metropolitan Delhi (Baviskar 2003).

Moving targets: displacement, impoverishment, and development*

Shelley Feldman, Charles Geisler, and Louise Silberling



The idea of *in situ* displacement led to a new project, as well as the book *Accumulating Insecurity*, which “equated in situ displacement with failures in social reproduction” (Feldman and Geisler 2012:975; Feldman, Geisler, and Menon 2011). In 2009, following two earlier workshops and other events, Shelley and Chuck organized the conference “Accumulating Insecurity, Securing Accumulation: Militarizing Everyday Life” (“Scholars to Address” 2009).

Gayatri Menon (PhD 2009) joined Shelley and Chuck in their 2011 book. As co-editors they wrote that the volume examined “various forms and sites of displacement and revealed them to be endemic to a singular historical process that is capitalist modernity” (Feldman, Menon, and Geisler 2011b:10). In this way, the seemingly disconnected everyday was actually connected in a global and world-historical crisis of social reproduction. Together, the 13 chapters examined “the ways in which the conditions of social reproduction have, for increasing numbers of people, been rendered insecure” (Feldman, Menon, and Geisler 2011b:18). The book’s value, wrote

⁷ As the authors note in their introduction, support for and the opportunity to prepare the papers contained in the special issue was provided by the Cornell Population Inequality & Development Initiative and the Department’s Polson Institute of Global Development (Feldman, Geisler, and Silberling 2003:12).

one reviewer, was that “the individual case studies taken together make a compelling argument for viewing our current moment as exceptionally insecure relative to the history of the modern world” ([no author] 2012:384-385).⁸

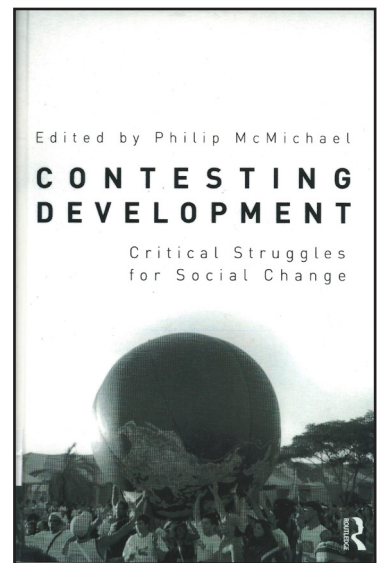
Development and Discourse in a New Era

Through much of its history, the Department’s faculty have critically engaged with development processes and institutions. This continued and grew in the years following the new millennium. Phil McMichael, for instance, examined macro-theoretical issues of development, global historical formations, and contemporary change. With alum Dia Da Costa (PhD 2003), Phil addressed the nature of legitimacy in the global order, arguing that development is facing an epistemological crisis as it tries to move beyond economic views of the determinants of poverty to a view that engages with multiple institutional domains (Da Costa and McMichael 2007).

Issues with, and contestations of, the prevailing market-based development paradigm were featured in *Contesting Development* (2010a) edited by Phil. Work on the book began in 2001 as a Departmental working group on social movements under the auspices of the Polson Institute for Global Development (McMichael 2010b:xiv). Chapter authors (all PhD students at the time) worked together to re-imagine development from a different perspective and vantage point.⁹ Viewed through the lens of “misfits” and “market casualties,” each chapter reveals and examines those who struggle with exclusion from a dominant market-based development paradigm that is presumed to be both universally applicable and universally beneficial. As one reviewer noted, “The book is more than a wonderful collection of case studies of critical struggles against neoliberal globalization ... [it] gives voice to the excluded, the “losers,” the disempowered of the non-Western world, and offers a new approach for understanding them, their lives, their struggles for another development and another possible world” (Piazza 2011:86).

Understanding theoretical contestations and conceptualizations of global development continued to be a theme for Phil McMichael as he released each new edition of his textbook *Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective*. First published in 1996, the 2000s saw the publication of the next 5 editions (e.g. McMichael 1996; McMichael 2017).

With each new edition, Phil updated the text to reflect contemporary issues and debates. Just as his third edition addressed terrorism, AIDS, and fundamentalism (2004a:xvi), as one reviewer noted, “McMichael thoroughly revised the fourth edition to retain this original approach while weaving in a stronger ecological theme, as well as a greater emphasis on gender and on the social responses to the globalization project” (Hytrek 2008:392). The sixth edition was no different, as Phil continued to put development in cultural and historical perspective in an accessible way for students. New for this edition, he included sections addressing market-centrism’s failure to account for “ecosystem degradation and resource depletion, the socially reproductive



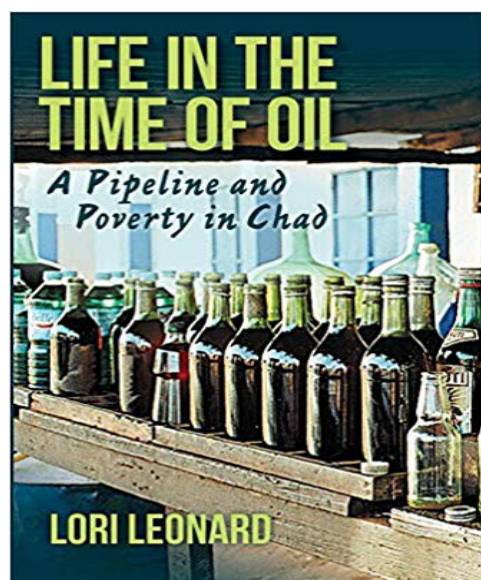
8 Also included in the book was the article “Protest as Violence in Oilfields: The Contested Representation of Profiteering in Two Extractive Sites” by alumna Anna Zalik (PhD 2006) (Feldman, Geisler, and Silberling 2003; Zalik 2002).

9 During the course of the book’s development, all of the chapter authors became alumni: Nosheen Ali (PhD 2009); Alexandre Emboaba Da Costa (PhD 2009); Dia Da Costa (PhD 2003); Kelly Dietz (PhD 2010); Andreas Hernandez (PhD 2008); Rachel Bezner Kerr (PhD 2006); Gayatri A. Menon (PhD 2009); Karuna Morarji (PhD 2014); Raj Patel (PhD 2002); Emelie Kaye Peine (PhD 2009); Alicia Swords (PhD 2005); Hanna Wittman (PhD 2005); and Anna Zalik (PhD 2006).

work performed largely by women, and food insecurity,” each of which creates contradictions within the larger development processes and discourses (McMichael 2017:xv).

For Fouad Makki, uneven and combined development provided a different lens through which to conceptually understand development. In his article, “Reframing Development Theory,” Fouad examined its conceptualizations and limitations, arguing that Trotsky’s concepts of uneven and combined development overcomes key “epistemological limits of the classical social theories on which these theories were based” (2015:485), including seeing change as more than the “shifting relationship of states and markets” (2015:484). The value of uneven and combined development is that “it explains what development actually is: a product of the differential but interactive (uneven but combined) processes of capitalist expansion” (2015:485). Building on Trotsky, Fouad argued for a relational approach to understanding development that includes overcoming “an unreflected Eurocentrism that universalizes an abstracted normative model and endows it with an immanent world-historical logic” (2015:491), and provides a way to see how common processes can still yield different outcomes.¹⁰

The historically embedded and relational approach emanated throughout Fouad’s research. Examining the historical Italian colonization of Eritrea, for instance, he addresses the conceptual basis of modernity and provides a re-reading of the relationship of colonized and colonizer (Makki 2008; 2011a; 2011b). Exposing disjunctures in historically situated but contemporary approaches, through colonial Eritrea, colonialism is re-understood in new terms that provide for a more relational understanding of processes, which in turn imbues agency in place of deterministic forces. As Fouad concluded in 2008, “It was precisely in the indeterminate spaces between these constructs – at the crossroads of politics and culture – that everyday challenges to colonial dominance were vitally posed, and a politics for an emancipated future was ultimately born” (2008:751).¹¹



Grounding the development experience and social improvement in the context of policy and its attendant contradictions, Lori Leonard’s research examined the impact of the Chad-Cameroon Petroleum Development and Pipeline Project. Having conducted the fieldwork prior to joining the Department, it came to be known as “the Chad Project” (Leonard 2016:x). Prior to her book’s release, Lori gave a talk titled “From Wealthy Women to Women who ‘Fall Down’: Corporate Detachment, ‘Gender-Neutral’ Policy, and Women’s Access to Land in the Oilfields of Chad.” Her talk was part of Cornell’s Advancing Women in Agriculture through Research and Education (AWARE) (Science Media Production Center 2015a) program.

Lori’s book, *Life in the Time of Oil*, provided an ethnographic look at a project designed to address the resource curse or “the paradox that countries with oil wealth experience slower rates of economic growth and worse development outcomes than countries without these resources” (Leonard 2016:5). Integrating Chad into the global market,

- 10 As a potential methodology for pursuing a relational approach, Fouad recommended Phil McMichael’s “incorporated comparisons” (Makki 2015:491-492; McMichael 2000a; 1990) where rather than making “an *a priori* assumption of an all-encompassing whole that governs its parts (Makki 2015:49a), instead, “the ‘whole’ emerges via comparative analysis of ‘parts’ as moments in a self-forming whole” (McMichael 1990:386).
- 11 In a similar vein, Fouad also examined Ethiopia’s history of Italian colonization in relation to theories of state formation (e.g. Makki 2011c).

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Reframing development theory: the significance of the idea of uneven and combined development

Fouad Makki¹

in combination with government reforms, the pipeline project promised to reduce poverty while maintaining a neoliberal approach to the market promoted by the World Bank. Despite its promises, Lori's multi-year ethnographic research detailed the project's failures. As one reviewer put it, "Leonard advances a convincing and credible argument that the failure of the oil project has not only happened at the macro level, but has also done lasting damage to communities in the local and everyday sphere" (Smith 2017:1536).

Research on global social change that integrated examinations of structural change with cultural productions and processes – and the contradictory effects and impacts of macro-economic processes, policies, and discourses – were addressed in Shelley Feldman's longstanding work on Bangladesh (2001a; 2010a). Her research provided a concretized window onto the development process in South Asia, resulting in work such as her article in the special issue of *International Social Science Journal* (2003a) that led to the book *Accumulating Insecurity* (Feldman, Geisler, and Menon 2011), and her critical examination of NGOs (2003b; 2005).

Particularized through national contexts and the material lives of women, Shelley's work on gender bridged development in the abstract to lived realities in real places. In 2009, her years of work in Bangladesh came together to bring new insights into what had once been a perplexing observation. Recalling her 1984 return to Bangladesh to examine women garment manufacture workers, Shelley reflected on the sudden and rapid change in women's engagement in the formal labor market at the time. Because behavior change on this scale required multifaceted negotiations with households, kin, communities, as well as religious expectations, "the argument that policy reforms alter people's behavior seems inadequate as an explanation for the dramatic growth in their participation" (Feldman 2009:1098). Problematizing modernist approaches to understanding patriarchy and women's labor force participation, Shelley's approach was to see patriarchy "as mediated processes of negotiation constituted by complex identities and practices," and in so doing to be "better able to identify the multiple relations of ruling that include the ways in which gender relations articulate with economies, states, and markets" (2009:1101).

Through her work on Bangladesh, Shelley also enhanced understanding of Islam and religion (Feldman 2001b; 2012). In 2010, she contributed an article to a special issue of *Women's Studies International Forum*. The special issue sought to provide "a more nuanced and sensitive approach to South Asian religious life, one which can encompass both positive and negative components" (Geoffrey and Rozario 2010:301). Bangladesh was of particular interest for the co-editors, who wrote: "We feel that if we are to understand the part that religion is playing in women's lives, and how this may affect the present and future development of a society such as

Bangladesh, then it is vital to see religion as meaningful and significant for Bangladeshi women" (Geoffrey and Rozario 2010:301).

Shelley's article opened the special issue's section on Bangladesh. In "Shame and Honour: The Violence of Gendered Norms Under Conditions of Global Crisis," Shelley examined religion's role in women's lives, not as

Shelley Feldman

Exploring Theories of Patriarchy: A Perspective from Contemporary Bangladesh

Experience is at once always already an interpretation *and* is in need of interpretation. . . . Experience . . . is always contested, always therefore political. The study of experience, therefore, must call into question its originary status in historical explanation.

— Joan Scott 1992, 37

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Shame and honour: The violence of gendered norms under conditions of global crisis

Shelley Feldman

Development Sociology, Feminist, Gender and Sexuality Studies, Cornell University, 391 Uris Hall, Ithaca, New York 14853-7801, United States

victims of tradition, but as agents in the context of the contradictory processes of neoliberal reforms (Feldman 2010b). “It is perhaps not surprising,” she wrote, “that given a dramatically changing political economy, a growing labor market for women, and marginal improvements in the lives of some women and their families, reports of crimes of honor and forced marriage reveal increased, rather than reduced, pressure on women to secure their family, community, and national reputation” (Feldman 2010b:307).

While many in the Department focused on the “developing world,” the post-socialist transformation in Central and Eastern Europe provided a different counterpoint. Even though previous research had considered national change within former socialist nations, little was being directed at understanding the relative impacts across rural and urban areas, or comparative impacts across nations (D. Brown and Bandlerová 2000a:149). Starting in the late 1990s and throughout the 2000s, David Brown turned his attention to examining development and demographic changes in Central and Eastern Europe.

In order to enhance “university-based research and education on agriculture and rural development in post socialist Europe,” the Cornell-CEE Initiative brought together an international group of scientists to focus on 5 substantive areas: rural development, market economics, food safety and quality, environmental management, and biotechnology (D. Brown and Bandlerová 2000a:150). David and PhD student Kai Schafft (PhD 2003) led a subgroup focused on rural development, which then held its own workshop to review the state of knowledge on community and rural development.

With primary funding from the Farm Foundation, supplemented with monies from additional sources, the conference was held in Podbanske, Slovakia (D. Brown and Bandlerová 2000a:151). Participants came from “Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, several other Central and Eastern European nations, the U.S., England, Germany, the Netherlands, France and Italy” (D. Brown and Bandlerová 2000a:152). The framework guiding the conference was broadly integrative, embedding 5 local domains within a national and global context (D. Brown and Bandlerová 2000a:153). The conference resulted in both a research agenda and the establishment of the CEE Rural Development Research Network (D. Brown and Bandlerová 2000a:157; 2000b).

The next year, the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation provided a nearly half-million dollar, six-year gift to Cornell’s International Agriculture Program (IAP) to support the Central Europe Initiative.¹² The funds supported several research groups including the Rural Development Working Group, which was coordinated by David and Mieczyslaw Adamowicz, a professor at Warsaw Agricultural University, Poland (“Cornell Program Receives” 2000; Mario Einaudi Center 2001:71).¹³

In 2003-2005, David collaborated with Sid Tarrow (Sociology/Government), Davydd Greenwood (Anthropology) and Peter Katzenstein (Government) to conduct a Mellon-Sawyer seminar titled “Towards a Transnational

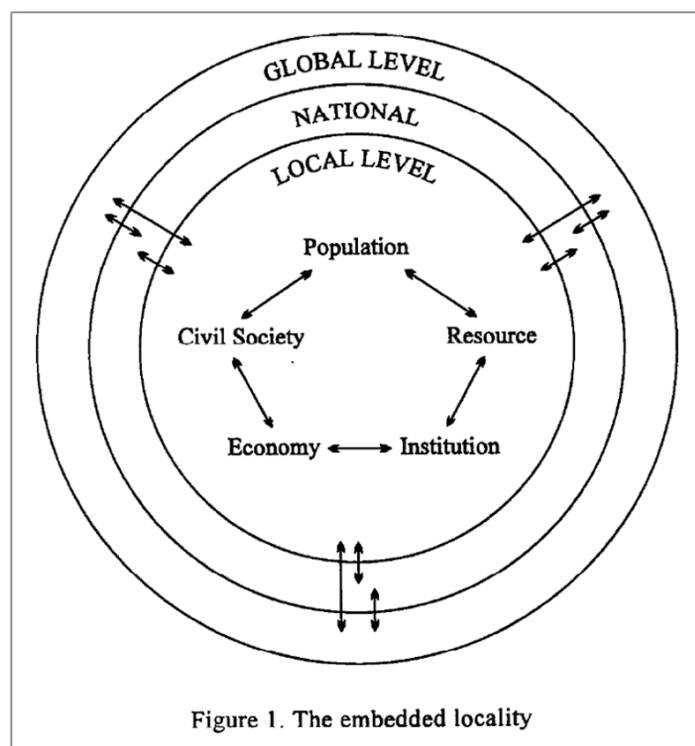


Figure 1. The embedded locality

12 Based on the external review of the Cornell International Institute for Food, Agriculture and Development (CIIFAD), the International Agriculture Program (IAP) was separated from CIIFAD in 2001 and became the International Programs/College of Agriculture and Life Sciences (IP/CALS) (Mario Einaudi Center 2001:66; 70).

13 Mieczyslaw Adamowicz had also been part of the group organizing the expert conference (D. Brown and Bandlerová 2000a:150).

and Transcultural Europe.” Each collaborator was responsible for planning one of the seminar’s four semesters. David’s turn at the helm was titled, “At the Periphery of the Periphery,” and focused on social and economic transformations of rural society in Central and Eastern Europe. Five visiting scholars, mostly international, were invited to speak each semester. This major scholarly event was held under the auspices of the Einaudi Center’s Institute for European Studies.¹⁴

In 2007, a grant from the U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (and a smaller grant from the Tianaderrah Foundation) led to establishing a Master’s degree in regional development in Bulgaria, at the University of Rousse. Headed by David Brown and applied economist Gerald White (with participation by Nina Glasgow and Mildred Warner (PhD 1997) and several other Cornell scholars), the effort lasted two years and included partnering among over 20 faculty members from Cornell and Rousse. “Bulgaria’s post-Socialist transformation,” David noted in the article for the *Cornell Chronicle*, “resulted in regional inequality and environmental damage ... Bulgaria needs leaders who can manage the process of territorial change to make a smooth transition to Europe” (“Cornell Team” 2007). Because of his leadership role, the University of Rousse bestowed David with an honorary doctorate in 2007.

Over the years, David’s research in Eastern Europe would have a dual focus on issues of development and demographic processes and change (e.g. D. Brown 2012; 2013). Often in collaboration with his PhD students and others from the research network, David addressed different aspects of life and development in former Soviet nations.¹⁵ Broader issues included social exclusion of rural minorities (D. Brown and Schafft 2003), and “Post-Socialist Transformation at the Rural Periphery” in Mieczyslaw Adamowicz’s *Agrarian Issues in Poland and the World* (Brown 2005). And, in his research focused on Hungary, David examined household livelihood strategies (Brown and Kulcsár 2001), population deconcentration (D. Brown and Schafft 2002), the political economy of urban reclassification (Kulcsár and Brown 2011), and sectoral and spatial changes during post-socialism (D. Brown, Greskovits, and Kulcsár 2007).¹⁶

Demographic Processes and Global Implications

David Brown’s research in Hungary and Eastern Europe was only one aspect of the Department’s ongoing work in international demography. Focusing on world regions and nations that included Southeast Asia, South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, and the United States, demographic research in the Department examined issues such as global population, fertility, youth, family, reproductive health, aging, rural population, and international migration.

During the 2000s, Southeast Asia continued to be the geographic focus for Lindy Williams’ research on family formation, fertility intentions, and marriage patterns in Singapore, Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia, and Vietnam. Often collaborating with scholars in each country, Lindy examined cohabitation in the Philippines with Midea Kabamalan and Nimfa Ogena – both from the University of the Philippines (Williams, Kabamalan, and Ogena 2007). Other research partners included Umaporn Pattaravanich and Kritaya Archanitkul from the Institute for Population and Social Research at Mahidol University in Bangkok, Thailand (Pattaravanich et al. 2005).

Lindy’s co-authors also included former graduate students, such as Marie Joy B. Arguillas (PhD 2008) who chaired the Sociology Department at the University of the Philippines, and with whom Lindy examined the determinants of non-marriage and the impact of parent’s overseas employment on family formation and stability (Arguillas and Williams 2010; Williams and Arguillas 2012). With Teresa Sobieszczyk (PhD 2000), Lindy

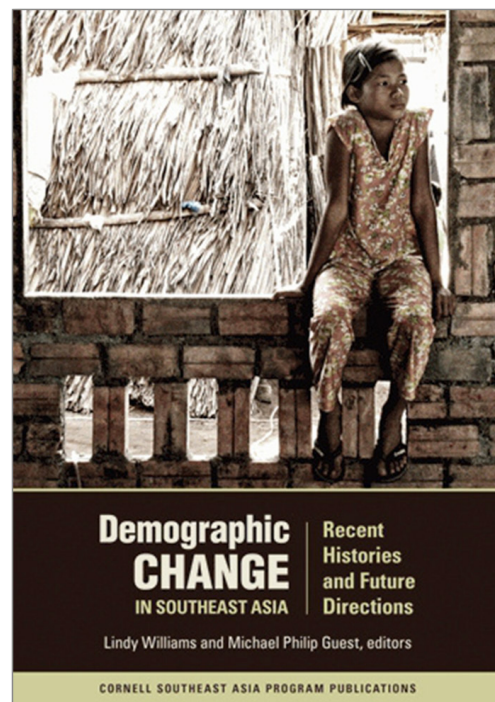
14 Thank you to David Brown for providing this information.

15 In 2015, Kai Schafft (PhD 2003) returned to Hungary as a visiting fellow at Central European University’s Institute for Advanced Studies to conduct research on Hungary’s Roma minority (<https://ed.psu.edu/directory/kas45>). Having been a lecturer in Hungary, László J. Kulcsár (PhD 2005) came to Cornell in 2001 to pursue graduate work in Development Sociology (<http://ljkulcsar.weebly.com/>).

16 In 2013, another conference was held to review changes since the initial conference 13 years earlier (Babjaková et al. [2013]).

examined data quality and consistency about pregnancy wantedness in the Philippines (Williams, Sobieszczyk, and Perez 2001; Williams and Sobieszczyk 2003). Florio Arguillas (PhD 2011) was fourth author on another piece examining pregnancy wantedness (Williams et al. 2001).¹⁷

In 2012, Lindy's co-edited book with Michael Philip Guest, *Demographic Change in Southeast Asia*, was published by Cornell's Southeast Asia Program Publications (Williams and Guest 2012).¹⁸ Crediting the idea for the book to Benedict Anderson (2012:vii), the book brought together authors examining the history of demographic change in the "eleven countries that comprise modern southeast Asia" (2012:1).¹⁹ Because of the availability of records and the fast-paced demographic change beginning in the 1950s, most authors focused primarily on the past 60 years. As one reviewer summed up the book's importance and reach: "This volume, which brings together current analysis by some of the most knowledgeable and experienced scholars of demographic change in Southeast Asia, is an exceptionally informative and useful book for anyone seeking to understand the critical social processes that are shaping this world region" (Leaf 2014:185).



When Alaka Basu joined the Department in 2007, she was already an established and internationally recognized scholar of the larger social and cultural contexts that affect demographic processes in the global South with a particular focus on India. Alaka's chapter "The Vocabulary of Reproductive Health" places reproductive health within its cultural context. She opens the chapter by recounting a story of misunderstanding, with euphemisms having been misinterpreted. The result was that a couple's husband took the birth control pills intended for the wife (2013a). Written for the book *Critical Issues in Reproductive Health*, one reviewer singled out Alaka's chapter for addressing "the important but often neglected" role of using metaphors and euphemisms when discussing reproductive health, and how it "starts at the highest level of policy and trickles down to the community and individual levels" (Speizer 2014:411).

Alaka's research moved beyond the implications of population policies and trends. In her article critically assessing mass schooling, for instance, Alaka concludes: "When a college education is no longer the entitlement of the privileged, the words 'education' and 'empowerment' will have a greater right to be employed in the same sentence" (Basu 2010:28). Her other analyses included a critical re-examination of the idea that economic growth should come as reductions in fertility and mortality change a country's age structure, and reduce the population that is considered dependent on others (Basu 2011; Basu and Basu 2014; 2015). Called the "demographic dividend," in an article in the Indian journal *Economic and Political Weekly*, she argued that the promise is called into question when examined instead as the ratio of non-workers to workers (Basu 2011).

Using the new online communication called "blogs," Alaka engaged a wider audience in policy discourse.²⁰

- 17 An article on birth wantedness with Joyce Abma began as a project with Kathy London, whose untimely death precluded its completion and to whom the authors dedicated their paper (Williams and Abma 2000:147).
- 18 At the time of the book's publication, Michael Philip Guest had recently retired as Chief of the Demographic Analysis Branch in the Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division at the United Nations (Williams and Guest 2012:219), and had been a professor at the Institute for Population and Social Research of Mahidol University in Bangkok. He was also a program associate and country representative in the Population Council's Bangkok office.
- 19 Benedict Anderson was a professor emeritus in Government at Cornell and author of *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. His paper with Ruth McVey on the 1965 coup in Indonesia led to his being barred from the country for three decades ("Benedict Anderson" 2015).
- 20 Blogs, short for web logs, became increasingly popular in the 2000s as technology changes made creating websites easier for nontechnical users. Blogging, or posting commentaries, became an important communication tool that increased online access to information and expressing views. Begun as personal blogs, over time, organizations and institutions would also use



While on leave at the U.N. Foundation Alaka wrote for the Foundation's blog. In her first post, Alaka addressed the World Health Organization's recent report on violence against women and argued that it "may not fully capture the adverse effects of violence on a woman's reproductive health (RH)" (Basu 2013b). Other blog entries addressed issues including women's empowerment, discontinuing contraceptive use, and the economic contributions of women's unpaid work.

With her attention to understanding the human side of population policy and demography, Alaka also addressed the idea of "public demography." Drawing corollaries to Michael Burawoy's coined term "public sociology" (Burawoy 2005),²¹ Alaka examined how demography and population dynamics are represented within fictional literary works, arguing that the treatment of demography within such works should be divided into two categories: those that "reproduce or reiterate the mainstream assumptions underlying the academic discipline," and those that "take on board more recent criticisms of these assumptions, sometimes in unexpected ways" (2014:813). As she concluded, "even in fiction, dramatic and fearsome 'facts' are easier to relate to than more complicated and ambiguous renderings of individual life experiences" (2014:834).

Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue's research, located in Sub-Saharan Africa, examined the interconnections of demographic processes with social change and inequality. For Parfait, understanding the relationships of demography and inequality meant questioning and reconceptualizing the nature of demographic processes to better understand their roles in social change (e.g. Eloundou-Enyegue 2014a; Eloundou-Enyegue and Giroux 2012a).

Parfait's examinations of the relationships between fertility, education, and inequality, for instance, took several forms over the years, including examining the conceptual relationships and methodological challenges in investigating pregnancy and its impacts on education (Eloundou-Enyegue 2004a; Eloundou-Enyegue, and Stokes 2004). But it was his research collaboration with Sarah Giroux (PhD 2011) examining fertility changes and education that gained the greatest attention. Cited in *The Economist* ("Baby Monitor" 2012; Giroux, Eloundou-Enyegue, and Lichter 2008) this work led to developing a new method for managing and analyzing micro-level data (Eloundou-Enyegue and Giroux 2012a). Achieving a demographic dividend from fertility transitions was also the topic for a podcast²² at the Woodrow Wilson Center ("Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue" 2011), and an expert paper prepared for the Population Division of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (Eloundou-Enyegue 2013).

It was a study on Norway that found how childbearing kept women from pursuing higher education that prompted a discussion in the *New York Times* about the relationship between fertility and economic growth (Cohen, Kravdal, and Keilman 2011; "The Chicken" 2011). Part of the "Room for Debate" series, five authors weighed in. In his contribution titled "The Chicken-or-Egg



a blog platform to engage online readers.

- 21 "For Public Sociology" was Michael Burawoy's 2004 presidential address at the American Sociological Association (Burawoy 2005). While not without its critics (e.g. Deflem 2005; Zimmerman 2008), public sociology quickly produced a new interest area within American Sociology (e.g. Blau and Smith 2006; Clawson et al. 2007), even establishing its own journal – *The Journal of Professional and Public Sociology*.
- 22 Podcasts are online audio or video files that can be viewed or downloaded and are usually part of a regular program.

Fallacy,” Parfait noted the importance of societal context: “childbearing has less room to get in the way of education when most girls quit school early; and education has more room to affect childbearing in societies that tolerate a wider range of family configurations” (“The Chicken” 2011).

Linking demographic processes to global trends and inequality was also an important focus for Parfait during the 2000s. In his chapter “Show Me the Money,” for instance, Parfait critically questioned “whether globalization has *shown the money* in the sense of delivering on its promise to stimulate growth in Africa” (emphasis original), but has instead only increased aspirations “without commensurate improvements in the means to achieve these new aspirations” (Eloundou-Enyegue, McHugh, and Orcutt 2004:195). The result, argued Parfait and his co-authors, “is an asymmetrical process of cultural Westernization without economic or demographic integration” (Eloundou-Enyegue, McHugh, and Orcutt 2004:196). The chapter was part of a workshop that had been held at Cornell in 2002 (“Nov. 8 Cornell Conference” 2002).

With a target date of 2015, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) framed much of the 2000s (e.g. Basu 2005; McMichael and Schneider 2011; Eloundou-Enyegue 2004b; Eloundou-Enyegue and Makki 2010; United Nations 2015b). At the start of the millennium, the United Nations General Assembly launched the goals as a way



to foster common global objectives (Hulme 2009; United Nations 2001; 2015b).²³ Even though the MDGs did not address population, as Parfait pointed out, “all the indicators that I see are either intrinsically demographic or have a strong demographic component” (Wilson Center 2012; “Royal Society Launches” 2012). He made the statement at the launch of the *People and the Planet Study* by the UK’s Royal Society.²⁴

Parfait joined 22 other worldwide experts in identifying the link between global population change and sustainability (Royal Society 2012; “Professor Helps” 2011). As stated in the *People and the Planet* summary, “the combination of increasing global population and increasing overall material consumption has implications for a finite planet.” The report also noted that “Population is not only about the growing numbers of people: changes in age structure, migration, urbanization and population decline present both opportunities and challenges to human health, wellbeing and the environment” (Royal Society 2012:7). Parfait spoke at the report’s release at the Wilson Center stating, “The question that the report is trying to address is whether we can actually envision a world in which we can sustainably and equitably meet the consumption needs of seven billion people, and the more to come” (Wilson Center 2012).

23 Addressing the question of agricultural development and food security in achieving the MDGs, in 2011 Phil McMichael built on his thematic paper which had been prepared for the UNRISD Flagship Report, *Combating Poverty and Inequality* (McMichael and Schneider 2011; UNRISD 2010). Relatedly, using the International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge Science and Technology and Development (IAASTD), Shelley Feldman and Stephen Biggs examined its history and contestations, arguing that the processes “showcase the fragility of claims that privilege productivity increases over other relations in agricultural practice” (Feldman and Biggs 2012:144). In 2015, the MDGs were replaced with 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations 2015a; 2017; “UN Adopts” 2015).

24 The UK’s Royal Society is an “independent scientific academy of the UK and the Commonwealth, dedicated to promoting excellence in science ... [which provides] independent, timely and evidence-based scientific advice to UK, European and international decision makers” (Royal Society [2017]).

Cornell helps build demographic research capacity in Francophone Africa



Provided

Parfait M. Eloundou-Enyegue, left, associate professor of development sociology, consults with graduate student Sarah Giroux. Both are working in French-speaking Africa to help students pursue higher education in population science so they can help their countries forge effective policies.

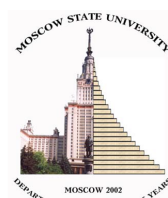
Even as an internationally distinguished social demographer, Parfait remained dedicated to African development, and especially to developing the scholarly resources needed to lead evidence-based social change.²⁵ As he said to the *Cornell Chronicle*: “You can’t improve quality of life in sub-Saharan Africa without effective policies. And you can’t develop effective policies without a good handle on a population’s demographics” (“Cornell Helps” 2008). Convinced that knowledge is power and that evidence-based policy is superior, Parfait and Sarah Giroux (PhD 2011) established a demographic training institute in Cameroon at IFORD (Institut de Formation et de Recherche Démographiques) (“Cornell Helps” 2008).²⁶ With funding from the Hewlett Foundation, the project provided summer courses training African scholars in demographic theory and research methodology, in order “to reduce their dependence on professionals from other countries and to inform development and policy programs” (“Cornell Helps” 2008).²⁷

The global nature of population movements was addressed through ongoing research on international migration. This continued to be Mary Kritz’s research focus and her area of internationally recognized expertise. From 2001 to 2005, for instance, she was the Secretary General and Treasurer of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP), and in the mid-2000s she worked as a consultant for the United Nations Population Division. As one of a group of international scholars invited to be a part of the Moscow State ‘Lomonosov’ University’s “10th jubilee volume of the

scientific series *International Migration of Population: Russia and the Contemporary World*” (Iontsev 2002:2), Mary examined “which countries are most likely to send migrants to multiple destinations and assess how that affects their overall migration profile” (Kritz 2002b:102).

In 2006, Mary was one of 11 international experts invited to participate in Fordham University’s and the Center for Migration Studies’

MOSCOW STATE ‘LOMONOSOV’ UNIVERSITY



WORLD IN THE MIRROR OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Scientific Series: International Migration of Population: Russia and the Contemporary World

Migration in an interconnected world: New directions for action

REPORT OF THE
GLOBAL COMMISSION
ON INTERNATIONAL
MIGRATION

25 Thank you to David Brown for providing insight into Parfait’s engagement and the IFORD project.

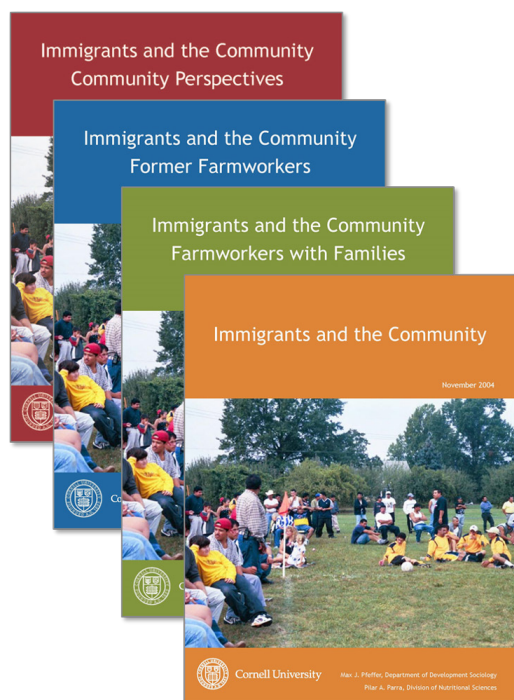
26 In 2018, Sarah Giroux and Parfait published *Understanding Social Change: A Decomposition Approach*. A handbook for applied demographic analysis that can be used in Africa and other global South locations, it updated an earlier 2010 edition (Eloundou-Enyegue, Giroux, and Tenikue 2018; Eloundou-Enyegue and Giroux [2010]). This was only one of several works that Sarah and Parfait co-authored (e.g. Eloundou-Enyegue and Giroux 2012a; 2012b; 2013).

27 As explained in Parfait’s bio for a 2011 *CALS NEWS* article, “In 2006, he began volunteering for summer teaching at IFORD, an institute for demographic training based in Cameroon. He was soon joined by some of his students and a few colleagues, including fellow development sociology professor Tom Hirschl ... What started as a small volunteer effort has since grown into a complex venture holding workshops two or three times a year” (“The Chicken-or-Egg Fallacy” 2011). Parfait also arranged for Cornell to donate refurbished computers to IFORD and set up CARE-IFA, a research training and data support center at IFORD (Cornell Computer Reuse Association [no date]; Giroux, 2012b).

forum to assess the report of the United Nations' Global Commission on International Migration (Global Commission on International Migration 2005). The Commission had been established at the United Nations "to provide a framework for the formulation of a coherent, comprehensive and global response to migration issues" (Chamie and Powers 2009:2). In her assessment, Mary examined governance and policies surrounding international migration, concluding that while the Commission should have taken more into account from its own background papers, the Commission "made a good effort to identify governance actions that might be taken by countries that are concerned about their international migration trends and by the international community" (Kritz 2009:65).

Mary was also called upon by the United Nations Population Division in 2005 to examine and document changing patterns in cross-border higher education (CBHE) and its relationship to international migration. Noting that as higher education was engaging in more partnerships with local institutions, branch campuses, and utilizing online technologies, these had the potential to change the traditional pattern of international migration for higher education. Mary presented her final report at the International Symposium on International Migration and Development held in Turin, Italy, in 2006 as part of the United Nation's High Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development (Kritz 2006), and she continued to examine higher education and international migration in relation to Africa and in other regions (Kritz 2011; 2015; 2016).

Internal migration of international migrants within the U.S., or "secondary migration" as it is called, formed a key focus of Doug Gurak's work during the 2000s. From their work in 2004 for *The American People* volume, published by the Population Reference Bureau (Kritz and Gurak 2004), to the aptly titled "Will They Stay?" (Kritz and Gurak 2011), Doug and Mary examined international migration into and within the U.S. With funding from several sources – including the National Institutes of Health (NIH)/Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) – the resulting research examined individual and contextual factors influencing the interstate migration of international migrants to the U.S. (Gurak and Kritz 2000), and an examination of differential patterns of "onward" internal migration across the wide range of migrants from diverse origin nations (Kritz, Gurak, and Lee 2011).



For Max Pfeffer, the role of international immigration was examined through a different lens (de Lima, Parra, and Pfeffer 2012). With Pilar A. Parra in Nutritional Sciences at Cornell and a grant from the Fund for Rural America, their research examined farmworker immigration in several upstate New York communities ("English Skills" 2005; "Mexicans are Settling" 2006). They produced 4 detailed reports, each examining different aspects of immigrant farmworker experiences (Pfeffer and Parra 2004; 2005a; 2005b; Parra and Pfeffer 2005). Reports ranged from Latino employment patterns (Pfeffer and Parra 2009) to community integration of Latino immigrants (Parra and Pfeffer 2006). Because of the policy significance of their research, Max and Pilar briefed Congressional staff on U.S. immigration policies in 2010 ("Cornell Experts" 2010).

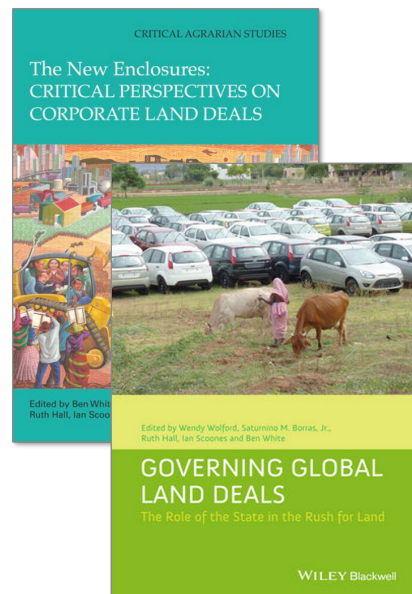
Global Change in Food, Land, and Agriculture

"Riots, Instability Spread as Food Prices Skyrocket," read the CNN headline in 2008 ("Riots" 2008), as a steep rise in commodity prices sparked riots and unrest around the world (e.g. "Across Globe" 2008; "Bangladesh" 2008; "Food Riots" 2008; "Global Food Riots" 2008). With increases in the price of food not seen since the 1970s, Robert Zoellick, president of the World Bank, "warned that 33 nations are at risk of social unrest because

of the rising prices of food” (“The World Food Crisis” 2008). Writing in the *Monthly Review*, Phil McMichael argued: “The food crisis of 2007-08 serves as a reminder of the long-standing patterns of inequality in the global food regime, and of its social and ecological unsustainability” (2009a:32).²⁸

As the issue of land and resource control gained prominence in the 2000s, affecting nations across the globe, research in the Department turned to address the issue from multiple perspectives. The “global land grab” was a key issue for Wendy Wolford, who arrived at Cornell in 2010 as the Robert A. and Ruth E. Polson Professor of Development Sociology. One of the founding members of the Land Deal Politics Initiative (LDPI), Wendy organized conferences and publications that made a direct link between the control of land, food security, and sustainable development. An international effort of multiple groups and universities, the LDPI focused on the politics of land deals, particularly those “centered on food, biofuels, minerals, and conservation” (“Linking to Lands Deals” 2010). The group came together around 4 key questions: “Who owns what? Who does what? Who gets what? And, what do they do with the surplus wealth created?” (“Linking to Lands Deals” 2010).

Beginning in 2010, LDPI efforts included sponsoring small grant competitions (“LDPI Small Grant” 2010; “LDPI Small Grants 2012” 2012) and organizing two international conferences, including one that was hosted at Cornell. Wendy co-organized both conferences (“Programme” 2011); at the first conference, she chaired three panels and one of the plenaries (“Programme” 2011). Combining her larger substantive focus on resistance with her geographic focus on Latin America (Wolford 2010; “Interview with Wendy Wolford” 2012), Wendy also presented her own research titled “Patterns of Resistance in Latin America” (Wolford 2011). Shelley Feldman, Phil McMichael, Chuck Geisler, and Fouad Makki also presented papers at the first International Conference on Land Grabbing, held at the University of Sussex (Feldman and Geisler 2011; McMichael 2011; Makki and Geisler 2011).



The next year, the Department hosted the Second International Conference on Global Land Grabbing. As the *Cornell Chronicle* noted: “Wendy Wolford, the Polson Professor of Development Sociology along with Charles Geisler, Professor of Development Sociology, were primary organizers” (“U.N. Food Expert” 2012; “Land Grabbing” 2012).²⁹ Explaining in a blog post at the David R. Atkinson Center for a Sustainable Future at Cornell, Wendy noted: “Some say this wave of land acquisition is exactly what we need to feed the world’s growing population and meet the demand for alternative energy. Others say it’s just the colonial scramble for Africa repeated, it’s 1884-85 all over again. And, in truth, it’s a little bit of both” (“Global Land” 2012). Others in the Department also participated in the second conference (“U.N. Food Expert” 2012). In addition to Phil McMichael’s presentation (2012a), Fouad Makki and Chuck Geisler both chaired panels, and three Development Sociology graduate students presented their research: Mindi Schneider (PhD 2013), Upik Djalins (PhD 2012), and Marion Dixon (PhD

- 28 Phil McMichael and alum Raj Patel (PhD 2002) put the food crisis within a longer historical frame and context arguing that, while the immediate cause of the crisis was the steep rise in commodity prices, “food riots today are an outcome of the policies embodied in the Bretton Woods Institutions’ economic doctrine, insofar as they dismantled public capacity (specifically food reserves), and deepened food dependency across much of the global South through the liberalization of trade in food-stuffs” (Patel and McMichael 2009:10). A later version of their article (Patel and McMichael 2014) was published in Pritchard and Pakes (2014).
- 29 This was only one of several conferences during the 2000s that the Department hosted. Others included “Accumulating Insecurity, Securing Accumulation: Militarizing Everyday Life,” held April 17-18, 2009, and “Rethinking Development: An Interdisciplinary Conference” held November 10-12, 2011.



2013) (Schneider 2012; Djalins 2012; Dixon 2012).³⁰

Out of these efforts, the LDPI organized two forums (Borras *et al.* 2011; Scoones *et al.* 2013), a special issue for the *Journal of Peasant Studies* (White *et al.* 2012), and produced the book *The New Enclosures: Critical Perspectives on Corporate Land Deals* (White *et al.* 2013).³¹ This time, with Wendy taking the lead, the LDPI organized a special issue of the journal *Development and Change*, which was reproduced as the book *Governing Global Land Deals: The Role of the State in the Rush for Land* (Wolford *et al.* 2013a; 2013b). As explained in the introduction to the JPS special issue, “We attempt to go beyond the rhetoric of ‘land grabs’ and weak, fragile or corrupt states,” and argued that “we need to unbundle the state, to see government and governance as processes, people and relationships” (Wolford *et al.* 2013a:192; 189).

With greater focus on land and large-scale land acquisitions, it was clear that land grabbing transected issues of power and control, and that it was not limited to agricultural lands and commodities. Moving from an examination of land grabbing to examining land use processes (Geisler and Salamon 1993), Chuck Geisler organized a special collection of articles for the journal *Rural Sociology*, entitled “People, Power, and Land: New Enclosures on a Global Scale” (Geisler and Makki 2014). As the journal editor explained, “These papers are the outcome of work carried out by members of the ‘New Enclosures Research Working Group’ at Cornell University, and the elaboration of texts previously presented at working group meetings, conferences, and other academic gatherings” (Bonanno 2014:1).

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People, Power, and Land: New Enclosures on a Global Scale

Charles Geisler
Department of Development Sociology
Cornell University

Fouad Makki
Department of Development Sociology
Cornell University

Chuck and Fouad described the genesis of their group’s thinking by asking: “Is there, we wondered, an even newer enclosure experience unfolding in tandem with the current global crisis and expressing itself in the vast alienation of land? From the outset, we were determined to situate the contemporary land rush within a wider context of world security policies and politics. We sought to understand the dynamics at work beyond hectares transferred and to locate something analytically richer and more nuanced than media stories about faceless ‘winners and losers.’ Something far more epic and globally transformative seems to be happening” (Geisler and Makki 2014:28). For the special issue, Chuck and Fouad both examined enclosures through the lens of imperial power and dispossession. For Chuck, this was through American Indian land titles (Geisler 2014), while Fouad’s paper, “Development by Dispossession,” turned to Ethiopia and examined the intersections of historical imperialism with developmentalism (Makki 2014).

Phil McMichael’s research located the “land grab” within the broader contexts of food regime restructuring (2012b) and food sovereignty (2015a). He brought these frameworks together as an “ecology of food security” (2014a). In his 2012 article, later chosen among the 40 classics published by the *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Phil saw land grabs as an “expression of deepening contradictions in the corporate food regime” and as “illusory solutions to a fundamental accumulation crisis of the neoliberal project” (McMichael 2012b:681). As part of Chuck and Fouad’s special issue of *Rural Sociology* (Geisler and Makki 2014), Phil argued that “more than

30 Videos from the conference were posted to YouTube by Future Agricultures Consortium (Facvideos 2012). <https://www.YouTube.com/playlist?list=PLBENZmfwTBmoeE6ZSSRyEu8oBormBY5vC>. “YouTube” is an online video-sharing platform that allows users to upload, share, rate, and comment on the user-generated videos. After the conference, the website continued to provide basic information on land grabbing and its impacts (<http://www.cornell-landproject.org/>).

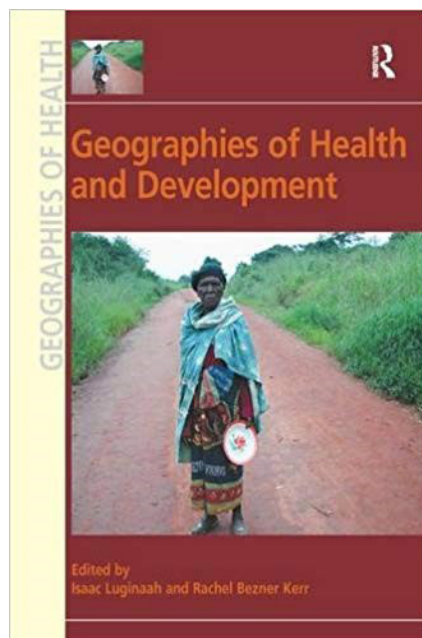
31 Both the special issue and the resulting book included articles by Phil McMichael (2012b; 2013b) and by Shelley Feldman and Chuck Geisler (2012; 2013). The forums and special issue joined other journal special issues focusing on land, including one co-edited by Phil on Biofuels (Borras *et al.* 2010). The LDPI also organized work around food sovereignty (Edelman *et al.* 2014), which included both Wendy Wolford and Amita Baviskar (PhD 1992) as co-authors, and articles by other alum including Hannah Wittman (PhD 2005) and Marygold Walsh-Dilley (PhD 2012) (Desmarais and Wittman 2014; McKay, Nehring and Walsh-Dilley 2014).

simply alternative visions, these represent different responses to the combined food, energy, and climate crises, informing quite distinctive ontologies concerning the relationship between ‘food security,’ environmental crisis, and land management” (2014a:35).

Throughout the 2000s, Phil continued to expand on what began as his and Harriet Friedman’s concept of food regimes (Friedman and McMichael 1989), a way to “situate the world food system and its crisis within a broader historical understanding of geo-political and ecological conditions” (2009b:139). Introducing a third food regime – the corporate food regime – Phil saw the current era as embodying “a central contradiction between a ‘world agriculture’ (food from nowhere) and a place-based form of agro-ecology (food from somewhere)” (2009b:147; 2005a).³² Contained within that approach is a focus on dispossession and counter-movements, such as food sovereignty (e.g. McMichael 2008; 2014b; 2014c; 2015b).

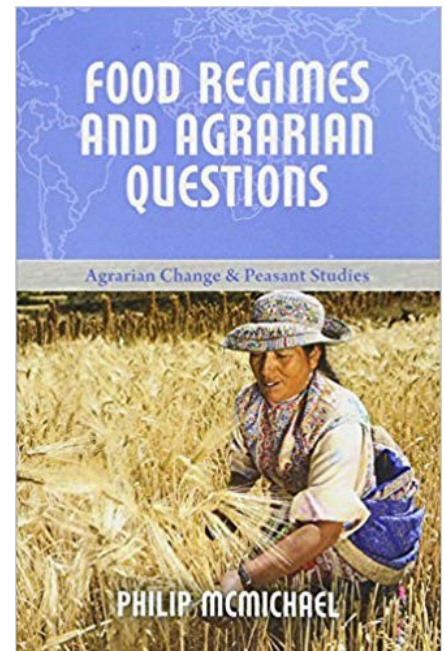
Phil brought his work together in the book *Food Regimes and Agrarian Questions*, where he addressed the concept’s development and its future (McMichael 2013a). As he characterized the book, it was “an attempt to rewrite the food regime project, not in a comprehensive way, so much as an illustrative way, to open up new questions regarding the agri-food world in general, and the food regime approach in particular” (2013a:x). He grounded his analysis with case studies, such as Via Campesina, a peasant movement working globally around national food sovereignty. As one reviewer noted, the book provides “sharp and lucid insights into the functioning of food and agriculture on a world scale, as few scholars are capable of providing” (Otero 2016).

Changes in global agriculture and its implications for food security, social relations, and nutrition formed an important focus for Rachel Bezner Kerr’s work. Often addressing the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa,



which stressed high input production, Rachel’s longstanding research in Malawi (e.g. Bezner Kerr and Chirwa 2004; Bezner Kerr et al. 2007; 2011) examined the intersection and effects of agricultural technology on food and nutrition, and its relationships to social inequalities, gender, and intra-household dynamics. Using lessons from the first green revolution, Rachel argued that “unless social inequalities and environmental concerns are taken into account, these technologies will intensify inequalities, increase environmental degradation and exacerbate malnutrition for the rural majority, while benefiting the urban poor, larger-scale farmers, agro-input dealers and transnational corporations involved in agribusiness” (2012:226). She also observed that the Alliance for a Green Revolution’s input subsidy was “not a ‘revolution’ in the making, but rather further entrenches social and spatial inequalities in Malawi” (2012:226).

Joining the Department from the University of Western Ontario in 2012, Rachel’s work in southern Africa grew and expanded.³³ Her long-term col-



- 32 Phil’s 2005 chapter “Global Development and the Corporate Food Regime” was published in *New Directions in the Sociology of Global Development*, which he and Fred Buttel co-edited (McMichael 2005a; Buttel and McMichael 2005). This was the sixth volume of the *Research in Rural Sociology and Development* book series with connections to the Department, and the third that was edited by a Department faculty member (Falk and Lyson 1989; Fear and Schwarzweller 1985; Schwarzweller 1984; 1987; Schwarzweller and Lyson 1995; Buttel and McMichael 2005).
- 33 Rachel was an alumna of the Development Sociology graduate program. Like other Department alumni, Rachel continued

laboration in Malawi with the nonprofit Soils, Food and Healthy Communities (SFHC) grew into the Malawi Farmer-to-Farmer Agroecology project (MAFFA). The project used participatory methods, including farmer-led experimentation and farmer-to-farmer teaching (“Agroecological Methods” 2015), and SFHC staff and farmers were not only participants but were often co-authors on publications from the research. In her blog post for the David R. Atkinson Center for a Sustainable Future, Rachel observed about the SFHC project: “Farmers started planting crops that enhance soil fertility, such as peanuts, beans, and pigeonpea. Families had improved child nutrition, and food security was enhanced along with land quality,” and that those same methods are being used in the MAFFA project (“Agroecological Methods” 2015).

Rachel’s research examined not only the interconnectedness of agricultural production to household food security and nutrition, but also their critical interrelationships to global sustainability, gender, policy, food sovereignty, and climate change (e.g. Bezner Kerr 2013; Patel et al. 2015; Nyantakyi-Frimpong and Bezner Kerr 2015). It also expanded beyond Malawi to other African nations (Nyantakyi-Frimpong and Bezner Kerr 2014; Ajibade et al. 2013). For example, in her article in the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, “Lost and Found Crops,” Rachel examined how maize production replaced two indigenous grains. “Drawing on theories of feminist political ecology, resilience, and indigenous knowledge,” she wrote, “I argue that agrobiodiversity and related indigenous knowledge are situated in material and gendered practices” (2014:577). In 2015, Rachel co-edited the book *Geographies of Health and Development* (Luginaah and Bezner Kerr 2015), which one reviewer described as “a smorgasbord of locations, sociocultural contexts and health issues that speak to the rich interplay between health, development, space and place” (Hill 2016:294).

Development in the U.S.

Even as international work increased in the Department, there were still a number of faculty pursuing their interests in domestic development. From poverty, environmental management, rural education, agriculture, and aging to wide-ranging analysis of rural demography and rural America, for much of the 2000s, the Department continued to leave its mark on domestic issues and rural social change in the U.S.

In addition to his policy-oriented research on welfare reform in rural areas (Hirschl et al. 2001; Zimmerman and Hirschl 2003), it was his research with longtime collaborator Mark Rank (Washington University, St. Louis) that was Tom Hirschl’s key hallmark of the 2000s. Of their work estimating the lifetime use of food stamps, it was their article published in the *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine* that received widespread national attention (Rank and Hirschl 2005; 2009).³⁴ Using 30

years of longitudinal data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), their findings indicated that “nearly half (49.2%) of all American children will, at some point, reside in a household that receives food stamps” (Rank and Hirschl 2009:994). While their research was conducted prior to the Great Recession, as the editor of the journal pointed out, since then the numbers receiving food stamps have risen to some of its highest levels (Wise 2009). News of their research was covered in multiple national outlets, including NBC, CBS, USA Today, and the *New York Times* (“Katie Couric’s” 2009; “Estimate” 2009; “Food Stamp” 2009; “Study” 2009).



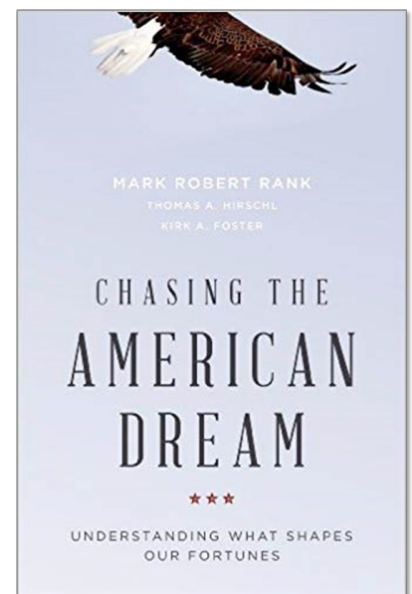
working with Department faculty after earning her PhD in 2006. In 2012 for instance, along with Hannah Whittman (PhD 2005), Rachel and Phil McMichael spoke in The World Beyond the Headlines lecture series at the University of Chicago Center for International Studies (UChicagoCISSR 2012), and she authored one of the chapters in Phil’s book *Contesting Development* (Bezner Kerr 2010).

34 In the 2008 Farm Bill, among many other changes, the food stamp program name was changed to SNAP – the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program.

Bringing together their extensive career-long research estimating the lifetime risk of poverty (e.g. Rank and Hirschl 2001a; 2015), Tom and Mark created an online Poverty Calculator and website <https://confronting-poverty.org/> (“Cornell University Professor” 2016). Although it had just been launched, “63,000 people have accessed the calculator so far,” Tom told the *Cornell Chronicle* (“Calculator Estimates” 2016). As Tom and Mark described on their website, “Nearly 20 years ago, we (Mark Rank and Tom Hirschl) wanted to answer a basic question: ‘What is the likelihood that an American will experience poverty at some point during their lifetime?’ ” (Rank and Hirschl 2018). To put their research into a form that anyone could use, they created the poverty calculator in hopes that “this tool has the ability to transform the discussion of poverty and inequality in America” (Rank and Hirschl 2018).

Almost 20 years before their website and engaging with other scholars through their life-course approach, Tom and Mark’s 2001 article, “Rags or Riches: Estimating the Probabilities of Poverty and Affluence Across the Adult American Life Span,” found that “between the ages of 25 and 75, 51.1 percent of Americans will experience at least one year below the poverty line, 51.0 percent will encounter a year of affluence, while only 20.1 percent of Americans will avoid either of these economic extremes” (Rank and Hirschl 2001a:651; 2001b; Jacobsen 2001; Mead 2001). They went on to extend their approach to focus on affluence (Hirschl and Rank 2015), the role of marriage and affluence (Hirschl, Altobelli, and Rank 2003), homeownership and race (Hirschl and Rank 2010), as well as the risk of developing a disability (Rank and Hirschl 2014). In 2010, their article on the occurrence of poverty, published in the *Journal of Policy Analysis & Management* (Rank and Hirschl 2001c), was reprinted in the edited anthology of the most influential and important articles from the journal (Besharov and Call 2010).

Along with Kirk Foster at the University of South Carolina, in 2014 Tom’s work with Mark Rank culminated in the book *Chasing the American Dream*. With four-fifths of Americans “at a significant risk of economic vulnerability at some point in their lifetime” (Rank, Hirschl, and Foster 2014:4), and increasing wealth concentration at the top, Tom and Mark asked, “To what extent the Dream is simply that, a dream rather than a reality” (Rank, Hirschl, and Foster 2014:3). They point out that this question is not just for those who have been excluded, but for many others as “growing numbers of middle and working class Americans struggle to get by” (Rank, Hirschl, and Foster 2014:4). In the book, they explored what the American Dream means; through interviews and focus groups and using data from the PSID (Panel Study of Income Dynamics) with their life table approach, they examined different pathways to it. Reviewers all pointed to the importance of understanding economic mobility in our contemporary world (Stewart 2017; Hochschild



2016; Kindle 2016), but its relevance was best exemplified when White House staffers asked for an advance look, and President Barak Obama cited their work in his December 4th 2013 policy speech (“Hirschl’s” 2014).

For Max Pfeffer, environmental management formed his key focus. Before becoming the College’s Senior Associate Dean, Max had already served in several administrative roles during the 2000s, including Acting Director of the Center for the Environment, Associate Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station (“Max Pfeffer” 2010), and Department Chair. Even with these administrative responsibilities, Max continued to be an involved



Organizing Citizen Engagement for Democratic Environmental Planning

LINDA P. WAGENET AND MAX J. PFEFFER
Development Sociology Department, Cornell University, Ithaca,
New York, USA

scholar. Based on his work from the 1990s, Max participated on multiple National Research Council committees on issues related to water and the environment (e.g. National Research Council 2012; Ocean Studies Board and National Research Council 2004; 2010).

Building off his earlier work on the New York City watershed (Ehlers, Pfeffer, and O'Melia 2000; Platt, Barten, and Pfeffer 2000; Wagenet et al. 1999), Max turned to examining community involvement in environmental planning. Work in this area examined the role of volunteers in environmental monitoring (Pfeffer and Wagenet 2007; Wagenet and Pfeffer 2007a), public engagement in decision making (Wagenet and Pfeffer 2007b; Pfeffer and Wagenet 2011), and the larger role of citizen science and engaging the public in the scientific enterprise (Freitag and Pfeffer 2013).

It was during the 2000s that Tom Lyson accomplished the fourth era of his scholarship, wrote Gil Gillespie in the special issue of *Agriculture and Human Values* devoted to Tom's life and enduring scholarly impact (Gillespie 2009). Tom passed away in 2006 at the age of 58; nevertheless his work focused on "the positive development impacts of independent farms and businesses run by people with an interest in and commitment to their communities" (Gillespie 2009:17; Gillespie et al. 2006; Gillespie and Falk 2007; "Thomas Lyson" 2007; "CU Sociologist" 2007).³⁵ Out of his work in the 2000s came many articles, his last book called *Civic Agriculture* (Lyson 2004), and two other books that were written with several of his PhD students and were published after his death – *Remaking the North American Food System* (Hinrichs and Lyson 2007) and *Food and the Mid-Level Farm* (Lyson, Stevenson, and Welch 2008).



Originally developed as a critique of the functionalist approach embedded in the adoption/diffusion models, Tom's work became a fundamental part of the history of the sociology of agriculture (Constance 2008). Tom joined his interests in agriculture and community-level civic engagement to develop the concept of "civic agriculture" (e.g. Lyson 2004; 2005; Lyson and Guptill 2004). He also examined the impacts of industrial agriculture on community well-being (e.g. Lyson, Torres, and Welch 2001; Lyson and Welch 2005), and the role of mid-sized farms on local development (Lyson, Stevenson, and Welch 2008).

For Tom, an important aspect of understanding conventional agriculture was to understand the role of power. In her study examining land-grant universities, Tom's former student Andrea Woodward (PhD 2011) noted how he "was critical of the land-grant system's lack of commitment to sustainable agriculture, and of the productionist paradigm driving its agricultural extension and research activities" (Woodward 2009:123). In the aptly titled "Stalking the Wily Multinational," for instance, Tom examined the interlocking of retail corporations' boards of directors. He continued this line of research with Annalisa Lewis Raymer (PhD 2007) (Lyson and Raymer 2000), and later with Rachel Schwartz (PhD 2011) (Schwartz and Lyson 2007).

Tom's concept of civic agriculture was conceptually linked to Walter Goldschmidt's famous work known as the "Goldschmidt hypothesis" (e.g. Green 1985; Goldschmidt 1978; Haley 2010; Lobao Schulman and Swanson 1993). Building on the hypothesis that the local structure of agriculture might contribute to community well-being, Tom coined the term "civic agriculture" in a paper he delivered at the 1999 Rural Sociological Society's

35 Tom worked with many students (Gillespie 2009) and often published in conjunction with them, including Rick Welsh (PhD 1995), Clair Hinrichs (PhD 1993), and many others. On his passing, the editor of the journal *Agriculture and Human Values* gave space in his editorial to Gil Gillespie, Elizabeth Barham (PhD 1999), Clare Hinrichs (PhD 1993), and Rick Welsh (PhD 1995) to provide reflections on Tom's influence (James 2007). In 2009, the journal hosted a special issue titled "Civic Alternatives in Rural Development," which was "organized by Marygold B. Walsh-Dilley [PhD 2012], Emme Edmunds [PhD 2016], and Max J. Pfeffer," honoring Tom's work and continuing impact (James 2009:1).



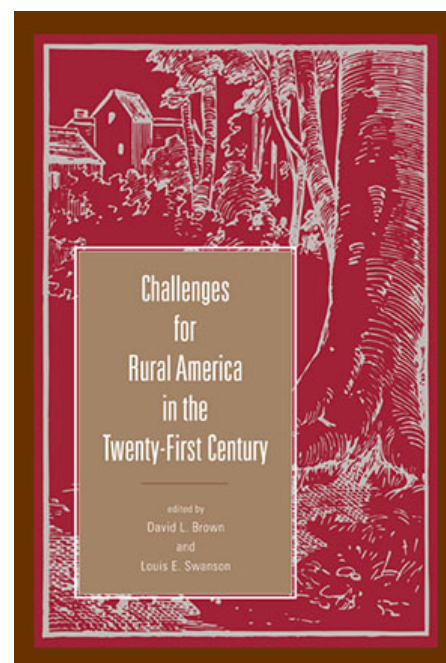
annual conference (Lyson 2004:xiv). In his book by the same name, he went on to elaborate the concept in detail and to discuss its importance for rural communities (Lyson 2004).³⁶

Tom defined civic agriculture as the “embedding of local agricultural and food production in the community” (Lyson 2004:62), and he critiqued neo-classical productionist agriculture, arguing that civic agriculture “not only provides economic support for the farm families but also contributes to the health and vitality of communities” (Constance 2007:128). Referring to the growth in farmers’ markets, community gardens, and other forms of local and community agriculture, Tom opened his book saying, “While the American food and agriculture system follows a decades-old path of industrialization and globalization, a counter trend toward localizing some agriculture and food production has appeared. I call this rebirth of locally based agriculture and food production *civic agriculture*, because these activities are tightly linked to a community’s social and economic development” (emphasis original) (Lyson 2004:1). In his review of *Civic Agriculture*, Doug Constance contextualized the importance of Tom’s book noting, “Lyson

provides a crucial moment in the development of a new rural sociology, one dedicated to the re-vitalization of rural America (and other rural areas of the world) – a rural sociology that keeps people on the land, that provides them an honorable way to make a living, and that supports them as active citizens in deciding and charting their own futures” (Constance 2007:128).

Research by the Department’s most recent faculty member, Scott Peters, also examined the role and effectiveness of the land-grant university system. Scott had previously been a faculty member in Cornell’s Department of Education, but came to the Department in 2015 from Syracuse University, where he was a Professor of Education and a Faculty Affiliate in the Program for the Advancement of Research on Conflict and Collaboration in the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. Prior to joining the Department, Scott was a visible commentator on the effectiveness and nature of university outreach. His three books on the subject are a touchstone for anyone with an interest in this subject (Peters 2010; Peters et al. 2006; Peters, Alter, and Shaffer 2018).³⁷

“Rural America is going through substantial change,” read the article in the *Cornell Chronicle*: “The 2000 Census showed that 56 million people live in rural America, accounting for about 20 percent of the U.S. population” (“New Book Explores” 2004). The article was referring to an important new book. Each decade the Rural Sociological Society produces what has become known as its decennial volume – an edited anthology with each chapter addressing issues facing rural America. Along with Louis Swanson, David Brown co-edited the first volume for the new millennium – *Challenges for Rural America in the Twenty-First Century* (D. Brown and Swanson 2003).³⁸



36 Civic agriculture even garnered an entry in Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civic_agriculture (Wikipedia Contributors [nd]b).

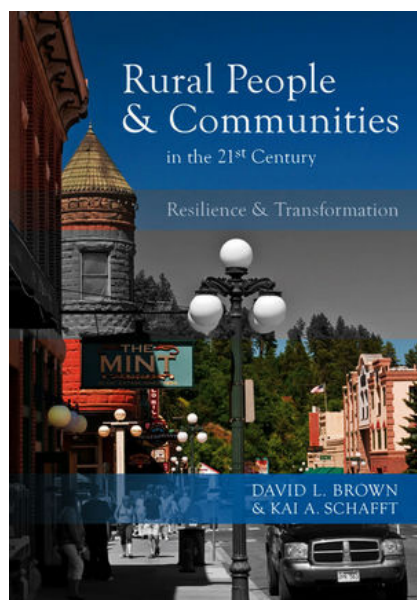
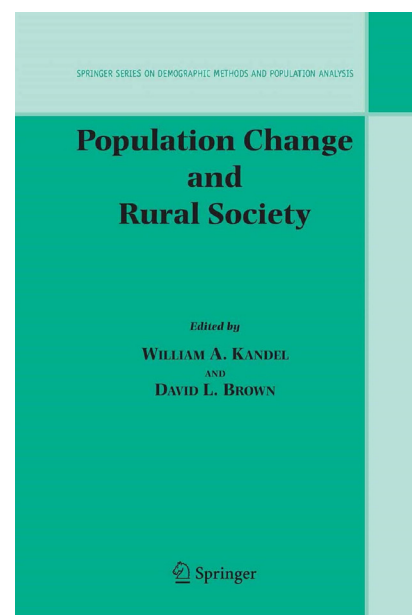
37 Thank you to David Brown for providing this information. Scott’s research continues to focus on community-based processes of research, civic studies, and advancing democratic varieties of public engagement in the academic profession. Scott’s latest book, *Jumping into Civic Life*, was published by the Kettering Foundation in 2018 and discusses his Kettering-funded research on organizing, cultivating, and sustaining democratic publics (Peters, Alter, and Shaffer 2018).

38 In 2008, the book was recognized for a Choice Book Award as an “outstanding academic title” from the Association of College

As David and Lou stated, the goals of the book were to “examine what sociologists have learned about rural life during the previous ten years, to identify high-priority knowledge needs that remain unfilled, to suggest how sociological knowledge about rural people and communities might be brought to bear on the nation’s critical policy decisions” (D. Brown and Swanson 2003:4). Comprised of 30 chapters authored and co-authored by 54 rural sociologists across the nation, an important feature of the book was the inclusion of 21 authors who, having received their degrees after 1991, represented a new generation in rural sociology.

Of the 30 chapters, 8 were written by Department members and alumni. Angela Gonzales examined the contemporary and future trajectories for American Indians (Gonzales 2003b). Civic communities, civil society, and rural development describes Tom Lyson’s chapter, written with Charles Tolbert (Lyson and Tolbert 2003). Phil McMichael looked at the impact of global change on American farming (McMichael 2003a). Nina Glasgow examined older rural families (Glasgow 2003). And, Tom Hirschl joined with Julie Zimmerman (PhD 1997) to examine the state of knowledge on the impacts of the 1997 welfare reform legislation for rural areas (Zimmerman and Hirschl 2003). Other alumni writing for the book were Lois Wright Morton (PhD 1998), Mildred Warner (PhD 1997), as well as Neal and Jan Flora (PhD 1970 and 1971, respectively) (Flora and Flora 2003; Warner 2003; Wright Morton 2003). As one reviewer put it, “this book is a must read for those who want or need to understand the dynamics of rural America” (Lasley 2005:132).³⁹

After the decennial volume, David produced another book on demography and rural America. In 2006, he and William Kandel co-edited the first volume focused on rural trends using data from the 2000 Census (Kandel and Brown 2006).⁴⁰ They opened the book noting that “The 2000 Census revealed that while eight of 10 Americans live in urban areas, the 56 million rural residents who reside in non-metropolitan counties exceed the total pop-



ulation of all but 22 of the world’s 200 plus nation-states” (2006:3). Part of the Springer Series on Demographic Methods and Population Analysis, the book was produced by members of the W-1001 Western Regional Research Committee on Population Change in Rural Communities (2006:xv). With a Foreword by Calvin Beale, the 20 chapters included Department members Max Pfeffer and Joe Francis’ analysis of farmland change (Pfeffer, Francis, and Ross 2006); Nina Glasgow with two colleagues looking at changes in age, gender, and race/ethnic composition (Kirschner, Berry, and Glasgow 2006); and with David to examine rural retirees and the destination communities they move to (Glasgow and Brown 2006).

A third book came in 2011. “While we live in an urban world, rural areas

and Research Libraries of the American Library Association (ALA [2010]) (<http://www.ala.org/acrl>).

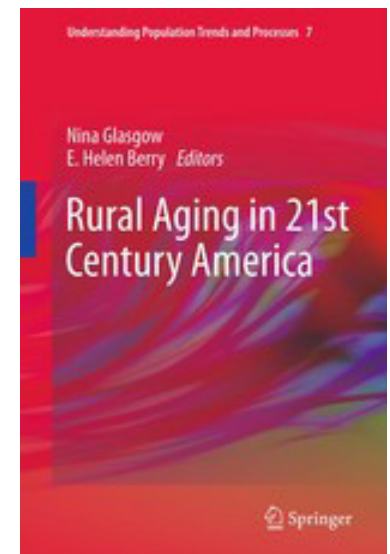
- 39 In 2011, David Brown also organized a special collection of articles for the journal *Rural Sociology* to honor Calvin Beale (D. Brown and Elo 2011).
- 40 Replaced with the American Community Survey (ACS), the 2000 Census was the last decennial census to use the Long Form for collecting and reporting data with detailed characteristics of the U.S. population. Using a smaller sample than in the Long Form, along with methodological changes such as continuous sampling (gathering data each year), the ACS now produced single-year estimates for large population areas, and 5-year estimates for population areas with less than 65,000 people. Even with initial optimism (McLaughlin et al. 2000), estimates for small areas and small groups faced issues of low reliability (Bazuin and Frasier 2013; MacDonald 2006). For many rural areas, this brought difficulties in understanding such change during those 5 years (Van Auken et al. 2006) and resulted in much less reliable estimates than were previously available through the Long Form – even for basic variables such as family structure (Zimmerman and Love 2017).

continue to contribute to a nation's economic and social wellbeing, and to its energy and food security,” wrote David Brown and Kai Schafft (PhD 2003) in *Rural People and Communities in the 21st Century: Resilience and Transformation* (D. Brown and Schafft 2011:13). Noting how the number of rural persons has remained relatively constant over the past 3 decades, David and Kai provided a sweeping look at rural areas in the U.S. (Brown and Schafft 2011:219). The book not only examined both persistence and change in rural areas comparison to “other highly metropolitan societies” (2011:13), it also addressed the need for comprehensive policy. As David and Kai stated: “We can either facilitate the transfer of remaining capital from rural to urban areas or we can choose to build sustainable rural communities and economies that provide a high standard of living and social wellbeing” (2011:230).⁴¹

Population aging was another context for domestic research conducted in the Department. While Doug Gurak and Mary Kritz examined elderly immigrants to the U.S. (Kritz, Gurak, and Chen 2000; Gurak and Kritz 2010), it was Nina Glasgow's work that was the most extensive. In 2008, together with David Brown, Nina published the book *Rural Retirement Migration* (2008). Work on the book brought together Nina's long-standing work in social gerontology with David's interest in domestic rural demography (Brown and Glasgow 2008:ix) to examine migration at older ages, as well as the impact of older in-migration for destination communities. Sometimes called “grey gold,” older in-migrants can have positive impacts on the receiving communities, including a vast array of volunteer activities (“Retirees on the Move” 2008; “Book Charts Trends” 2008). However, they also showed how older in-migration can displace longer-term residents from social, economic, and political participation. Analyzing data from the Cornell Retirement Migration Project, as one reviewer noted “one of the unique contributions of this book is the use of location-based in-depth case studies in conjunction with demographic analysis [which] reveal[ed] that social participation of in-migrants has both positive and negative consequences for local communities” (Mair 2009:465).

In addition to her work with David on rural retirement migration, Nina's other work on aging continued throughout the 2000s (e.g. Glasgow 2000; Glasgow and Brown 2006; 2012). It was her third book during this time that led to a briefing for the U.S. Congress (Glasgow and Berry 2013; “Graying of Rural America” 2013).⁴² As they noted in an article for the American Sociological Association's *Footnotes*, “Rural places will be more affected by aging than urban areas, not only because rural areas are demographically older but because rural older residents receive lower Social Security and pension benefits than urban elders” (Berry and Glasgow 2013). Co-edited with E. Helen Berry, *Rural Aging in 21st Century America* brought together a wide range of scholars and scholarship examining aspects of the contemporary landscape of rural aging (Glasgow and Berry 2013).⁴³

John Sipple joined the Department in 2011, coming from the recently closed Department of Education (“CALS to Close” 2010). His arrival brought to the



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- 41 As David shared, the book was written explicitly for classroom use and was inspired by a course he taught for many years at Cornell, titled “Rural Areas in Metropolitan Society.” A second edition was published in 2019 that includes updated case studies reflecting rural issues that have occurred since 2011, and an entirely new chapter on rural governance and politics reflecting increased interest in rural communities as a result of the 2016 presidential election.
- 42 Nina had another book published during this time. *Critical Issues in Rural Health* was co-edited with Lois Wright Morton and Nan E. Johnson (Glasgow, Wright Morton, and Johnson 2004), and included a chapter by Nina titled “Healthy Aging in Rural America” (Glasgow 2004).
- 43 The book culminated the work of the W2001: Population Dynamics and Change: Aging, Ethnicity and Land Use Change in Rural Communities, a multi-state research project supported by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Multi-state research projects were a mechanism to support and develop research across the U.S. The W2001 project (<https://www.nimss.org/projects/9536>) was the successor to the W1001: Population Change in Rural Communities multi-state research project (<https://www.nimss.org/projects/1095>).

department a focus on education and social policy.⁴⁴ Combining both research and applied work with schools in New York, John focused on public schools and community responses to policy changes at the state and federal levels. As part of the Shared Services Project with Mildred Warner (PhD 1997), and in conjunction with the New York State Center for Rural Schools (“Gov. Paterson Names” 2008), John examined the extent and nature of shared services among schools in New York (Sipple and Dilani-Miller 2014). As John noted for an article in the *Cornell Chronicle*, “Services sharing is not the new consolidation ... But services sharing is a good way to try a few steps with a potential partner – before more extensive commitments are made” (“Already Sharing” 2014). For the second edition of the *Routledge Handbook on Education and Finance Policy*, John examined a range of key challenges facing rural schools, arguing that “more scholarly attention to rural schools is needed if policymakers are to address meaningfully the needs of these students” (Sipple and Brent 2015:607).

Prior to John’s joining the Department, three other faculty had also been engaging with rural education issues. Paul Eberts had worked with the NYS Rural Schools Program in the Cornell Department of Education. Examining trends such as school dropouts, Paul gave presentations at workshops across the state in 11 regional districts, and at the Rural Schools Superintendents’ Retreat (Eberts 2006). Tom Lyson’s study on communities with and without schools found that rural communities with schools have higher social and economic welfare compared to those without (Lyson 2002). As he told the *Cornell Chronicle*, “When a school goes in a rural community, it’s the death knell” (“Rural Communities” 2005).

Local Engagement in Policy and Practice

Applied scholarship in the Department encompassed a wide array of applied research and outreach and included Tom Hirschl’s long-standing work with the Teen Assessment Program, examining risky behaviors of teens and measures to protect them from engaging in these behaviors (Miller and Hirschl 2004; 2013; Seitz and Hirschl 2003; Telfer, Mead, and Hirschl 2002). Joe Francis was also engaged in applied research and outreach during the 2000s. As he stated on the Department website, “Recently, the bulk of my research activities have moved to applied demography as the director of the Cornell Program on Applied Demographics (PAD)” (Dept. of Development Sociology 2015). But it was CaRDI’s move to the Department, along with its federation of semi-autonomous programs, that expanded opportunities for the Department to engage locally throughout New York State (Pfeffer 2007).

CaRDI

Having been a university-wide institute during its first decade (University Faculty 1988-1990:6791C), CaRDI’s move to the Department enhanced the Department’s breadth and reach of applied research and outreach. In 2015, CaRDI was shaped by three broad focal areas: Community and Economic Development; Agriculture and Food Systems Development; and Energy, Land Use and the Environment (CaRDI 2015a). “A federation of programs” CaRDI included the Cornell Farmworker Program, Rust 2 Green, LEAD NY, and the Rural Schools Association of New York State (CaRDI 2015b). By 2015, CaRDI had produced nearly 200 publications and had sponsored many events, including symposiums, conferences, and institutes. After Paul Eberts stepped down, during the 2000s, Max Pfeffer and David Brown came on board as co-directors. When Max moved to the Dean’s office, John Sipple partnered with David as co-directors. Rod Howe served as the Executive Director until his departure in 2015 to lead the Ithaca History Center. Meanwhile, the respective partner programs had their own directors and operated in a semi-autonomous fashion. Mary Jo Dudley directed the Cornell Farmworkers Program, Larry Van De Valk directed LEAD New York, Paula Horrigan led Rust 2 Green, and John Sipple directed the NYS Rural Schools Association.



44 Olaf Larson had been involved in an earlier reorganization of education at Cornell in the late 1960s when he served as chair of the Special Committee on Education (“Report of Ad Hoc” 1974; Cornell University 1968:5).

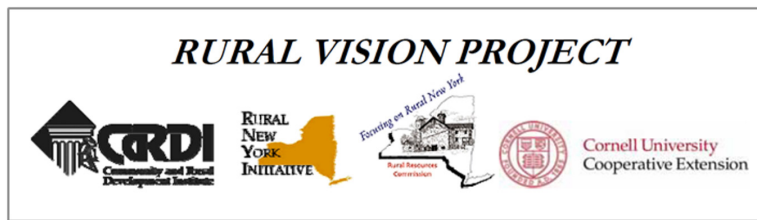
Following the Innovator Awards in the 1990s, CaRDI established the David J. Allee and Paul R. Eberts Community and Economic Vitality Award, which recognized the wide array of partnerships that contributed to community development in the state. The award “honors Cornell University and Cornell Cooperative Extension colleagues, recognizing research and outreach that develops innovative solutions to community issues” (CaRDI 2013:1). Awardees during the 2000s included Paul Eberts in 2004 and Duncan Hilchey in 2006, who had also received an Innovator Award. In 2008, Maralyn Edid in Cornell’s ILR School was recognized for her work examining the immigrant community (“Maralyn Edid” 2008; Edid 2007). Nina Glasgow won the award in 2010 for her work establishing the Rural Learning Network of Central and Western New York. In 2011, the award recognized the Marcellus Shale team for its wide-ranging work examining the community-level impacts of fracking (“Extension’s Marcellus Shale” 2011; “Extension Director” 2011; Jacquet and Stedman 2009). Mildred Warner (PhD 1997), professor in the Department of City and Regional Planning, was the award recipient for 2012/2013 for her many years of innovative work and service to CaRDI (CaRDI 2013). Other awardees included Susan Christopherson for her “research and outreach in the areas of economic and workforce development” (“Susan Christopherson Wins” 2007), and former CaRDI Executive Director Rod Howe (“Howe Honored” 2015).

During the 2000s, CaRDI publications took on a common look and regular releases. In addition to the 70 *Research & Policy Briefs*, there were 12 briefs in the *Rural New York Initiative Research and Policy Briefs* series. From 2011-2012, the series *Upstate Updates* addressed each of the nine topics that were covered in the State of Upstate New York Initiative (CaRDI 2015c). All told, there are 70 issues of *The New York Minute* focusing on a variety of topics by Cornell researchers and colleagues from elsewhere, including data and trends facing New York State. With its 40th issue in 2010, the previously named *Rural New York Minute* dropped “Rural” from its name. It would also become a “partnership and collaboration between CaRDI and PAD, Cornell’s Program on Applied Demographics” (CaRDI 2015d), and starting with its 52nd issue, PAD was included on its masthead.



CaRDI’s work was wide ranging throughout the 2000s. While the “R” in CaRDI would change in 2010, replacing “Rural” with “Regional,” rural New York continued to be a major focus. In response to encouragement from the CALS Dean’s Office to focus more on upstate New York, the Department responded with the Rural New York Initiative. Over time, the Initiative became a major organizing structure for CaRDI’s and the Department’s applied research and outreach efforts.⁴⁵ The Initiative enhanced “the engagement between Cornell research, outreach-extension, NYS stakeholders and policymakers to help create a productive dialogue around public policies, conduct research that is responsive to rural needs, and provide critical information which supports economic opportunities and the quality of life for rural people

45 As Phil McMichael outlined in his holiday letter, the RNYI was one of the two initiatives begun in relation to the Department’s name change to Development Sociology (2003b), and was “geared to developing collaborative links among faculty working on New York State under the four themes of community and economic development, agricultural and food system restructuring, environment, and social inequality” (2003b:1).



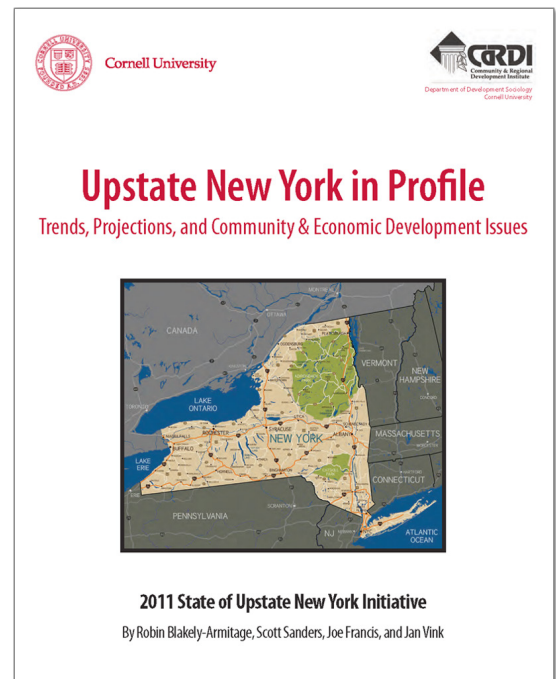
and places” (Cornell University [2018]). The Rural Initiative had 2 major goals: to produce research-based information and to promote engagement between research, outreach, and rural development policymakers. The Initiative included a large proportion of CaRDI’s work, including CaRDI publications, the Em-

pire State Poll that supplied focused data for many CaRDI publications, the Cornell Municipal Clerks Institute, the Future of Rural New York Seminar Series, and the Rural Vision Project (Cornell University [2018]).

During 2005-2006, CaRDI’s Rural Vision Project (CaRDI 2018a) was conducted “to identify challenging issues and emerging opportunities facing rural New York State. Its principal focus was on state-level policies to promote community and economic development” (CaRDI [2005]:4). The project began with 11 regional listening sessions held in different rural areas (CaRDI [2005]:4), and led into the Future of Rural New York Symposium, which was organized by Cornell University and the NYS Legislative Commission on Rural Resources in 2006 (CaRDI 2006; 2018a). Also in 2006, the project received the Sen. Patricia M. McGee Award of the New York State Association for Rural Health (“Rural Vision Project Recognized” 2006). As Rod Howe noted at the time: “It was gratifying to receive this award in Senator Pat McGee’s name since the idea for the Rural Vision Project came from a campus visit when Senator McGee and Assemblyman David Koon met with faculty who were doing research on rural New York in the spring of 2004” (“Rural Vision Project Recognized” 2006).⁴⁶

In 2011, with encouragement from Vice Provost Ronald Seeber and the College’s Dean, CaRDI held the State of Upstate New York Conference: Resiliency, Partnerships and Innovation – also known as the “SOUS conference” (CaRDI 2011a; “Changing Upstate” 2011). As the conference flyer explained: “This conference will offer detailed data analysis in combination with engaged panel discussions across nine key topic areas including economic development, workforce trends, land use and environment, schools, health care, income and poverty, energy, agriculture, and local and regional government” (CaRDI 2011b).

In preparation for the conference, CaRDI conducted a year-long research project to examine nine high-priority areas identified in the Rural Vision Project, and produced the “SOUS Chartbook” (Blakeley-Armitage et al. 2011). “This chart book will provide useful data, survey information and links to additional resources so that stakeholders in the future of upstate New York can be on the same page” lead author Robin Blakeley-Armitage told the *Cornell Chronicle* (“New Book” 2011).⁴⁷ Distributed prior to the conference, the chartbook provided an empirical baseline to initiate and structure workshop discussions. The 2-day conference attracted “some 150 civic leaders, community activists and academics,” and “featured more than 40 speakers and panelists covering nine themes ranging from poverty to health care”



46 Qualitative data from the Rural Vision Project were later used in a Master’s thesis by Heather Kristine Strachan (MS 2011) (Strachan 2011).

47 In addition to secondary data through a collaboration with PAD (Cornell Program on Applied Demographics), the chartbook also included results from “a special survey, the State of Upstate Survey. The survey of Upstate New York households was designed by CaRDI and conducted in January 2011 by Cornell University’s Survey Research Institute (SRI). This telephone survey was administered to 600 Upstate households using a random sampling framework” (CaRDI 2011a). Results from the survey were also included in the *New York State Appalachian Region Development Plan, 2011-2014* (New York Department of State 2012).

(“Changing Upstate” 2011).⁴⁸ To help with dialogue beyond the conference, CaRDI produced a post-conference report sharing highlights from the Chartbook, alongside major points that had been raised at the conference (CaRDI 2011a).

In part building on the SOUS conference (Cornell 2014), in 2014 CaRDI held the conference Local Fiscal Stress: State Austerity Policy and Creative Local Response, which focused on “the effects state policy has on the fiscal stress of municipalities and school districts” (CaRDI 2018d). The overall goal of this conference was to foster dialogue among a broad set of partners [such as] unions, progressive policy groups and municipalities [that] must work together to respond to local fiscal and social stresses and recent shifts in state policy” (CaRDI 2014a; 2014b).⁴⁹ Other CaRDI efforts included the *New York State Canal Corridor Initiative* in 2009 (CaRDI 2018c), and the *Rural Learning Network of Central and Western New York*, a two-year program begun in 2007 (“Extension Helps” 2009). Directed by Nina Glasgow, the network was a bottom-up initiative in which particular areas identified issues of concern. These issues subsequently resulted in 6 conferences “focused on community and economic development issues vital to rural central and western New York” (CaRDI 2018b; “Extension Helps” 2009).

In 2013, CaRDI established an annual summer Community Development Institute. As Robin Blakely-Armitage shared with the *Cornell Chronicle*: “We’re providing a space for interaction between academic researchers, community practitioners and policymakers, to build on the work they are doing on issues that are common across the state, and see how they can better link their efforts to build family and community capacity” (“CaRDI Event” 2015; CaRDI 2018e). The 2015 theme, “Strong Families ↔ Strong Communities,” followed the previous year’s focus on water resources co-sponsored by the NYS Water Resources Institute (CaRDI 2018e; 2018g). The focus of the inaugural institute in 2013 was “Informed Communities, Informed Decision” (CaRDI 2018f).

Over the years, CaRDI conducted applied research on a wide array of policy-related issues. David Kay co-authored the first issues of both the *Research & Policy Brief Series* and *CaRDI Reports*. The *Research & Policy Brief Series* opened with “Terrorism & Residential Location Preferences in New York State” (Kay, Geisler, and Bills 2007), and *CaRDI Reports* began with an examination of results from the New York State Rural Landowner Survey (Kay and Bills 2007). In 2009, Angela Gonzales joined Daniel B. Ahlquist (PhD 2015) and Tom Lyson to examine public opinion about Indian casinos (2009). Also in 2009, Heidi Mouillesseaux-Kunzman looked at a regional food system (Mouillesseaux-Kunzman and Lang 2009). And, as part of the State of Upstate New York (SOUS) initiative, CaRDI produced 9 monthly updates

48 Funding for the State of Upstate New York Conference was obtained from Cornell Cooperative Extension, Cornell Economic Development Administration University Center, Cornell Population Program, Cornell Program on Agribusiness & Economic Development, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Institute for the Social Sciences at Cornell University, New York State Center for Rural Schools at Cornell University, as well as “collaborative and organizational support” from 50 different state, local, and regional organizations (CaRDI 2011b; 2011a).

49 The conference also built on the State of Cities conference held in March of 2014 (CaRDI 2014a) and was part of a larger project directed by Mildred Warner (PhD 1997) (CaRDI 2014b; Cornell University [2017]). Videos and presentations from the conference are available on Mildred Warner’s website (<http://www.mildredwarner.org/restructuring/fiscal-stress>). CaRDI and Department members continue to be engaged with issues surrounding fiscal stress and municipal governments (e.g. CaRDI 2019).

called “Upstate Updates,” including Robin Blakely-Armitage and David Kay’s examination of public support for the newly passed property tax cap (2011; CaRDI 2018h) – to name only a few.

CaRDI also became the organizational home for several semi-autonomous programs. From 2005 to 2011, CaRDI won grant funds from the U.S. Department of Commerce’s Economic Development Administration (EDA) to become New York’s EDA University Center (CaRDI 2018i). Rust 2 Green (short for the Rust to Green New York Action Research Initiative) is led by Paula Horrigan in the Department of Landscape Architecture. LEAD NY, the Cornell Farmworker Program, and the NY Rural Schools Association joined CaRDI during the mid-2000s.⁵⁰



In the fall of 2015, the 16th class of LEAD NY was underway (“We are LEAD” 2015). Focused on food, agriculture, and natural resource industries, for 30 years LEAD NY had been providing a leadership development program “which helps participants improve their leadership skills, level

of self-awareness, issues analysis, critical thinking and civic engagement” (LEAD NY 2015a). “A program of seminars, workshops and field travel” (LEAD NY 2015a), the program began in 1985 when Department Faculty member Jim Preston established the Empire State Food and Agricultural Leadership Institute in collaboration with the New York State Agricultural Society (Bitz 2012; Dept. of Rural Sociology 1986:6; New York State Agricultural Society [2013]).

In 2001 and throughout the 2000s, Larry Van De Valk served as the program’s Executive Director. Since its founding, more than 400 people have completed the program, with alumni stretching back for 3 decades (LEAD NY 2016; 2017). Needless to say, as the website states, “It would be difficult to look at the leadership of virtually any food or agricultural organization in New York and NOT see at least a few LEAD alumni serving in leadership roles for that organization” (LEAD NY 2015b).

“Mary Jo Dudley discusses Cornell Farmworker Program at the White House” read the *Cornell Chronicle*’s headline (“Mary Jo Dudley” 2011). Director of the Cornell Farmworker Program, Mary Jo spoke at the Cesar Chavez Champions of Change event honoring that year’s awardees. As she noted at the time: “I was fortunate to have met and interviewed Cesar Chavez, and since he dedicated his life to raising the visibility of farmworker issues, I can imagine no better tribute than this recognition” (Dudley 2012). In fact, the very next year, in 2012, she was herself named one of 10 Cesar Chavez Champions of Change (“White House” 2012; “Creating a Better Future” 2012).



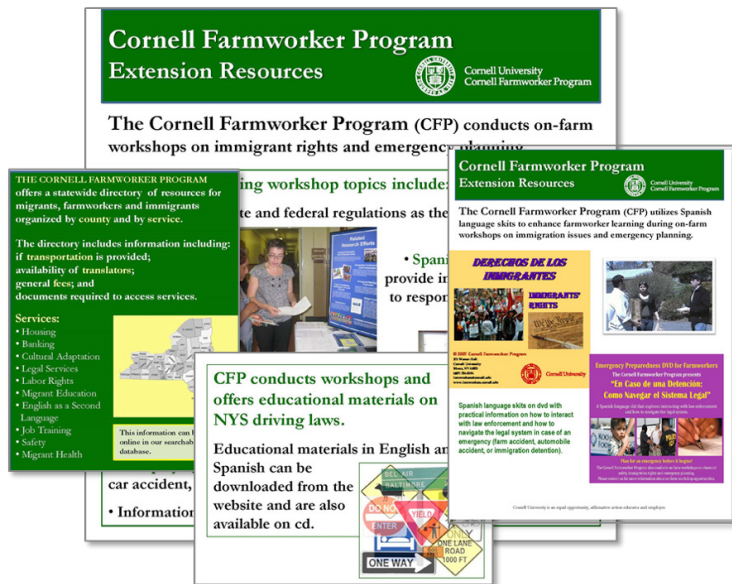
Mary Jo served as Director of the Cornell Farmworker Program upon its return to the College of Agriculture and Life

Sciences in 2005 (“Mary Jo Dudley Named” 2005; “Migrant Program’s Director Settles In” 2005). Previously called the “Cornell Migrant Program,” Mary Jo took on the leadership role after an extensive review and reorganization (“Cornell Migrant Labor Program to be Changed” 2004). Just as Department members had been involved in the Cornell Migrant Program in the 1970s (Altschul-



Mary Jo Dudley and President Barack Obama

50 Long before joining CaRDI, both LEAD NY and the Cornell Farmworker Program had early roots and connections with the Department dating from the 1980s and 1970s, respectively.

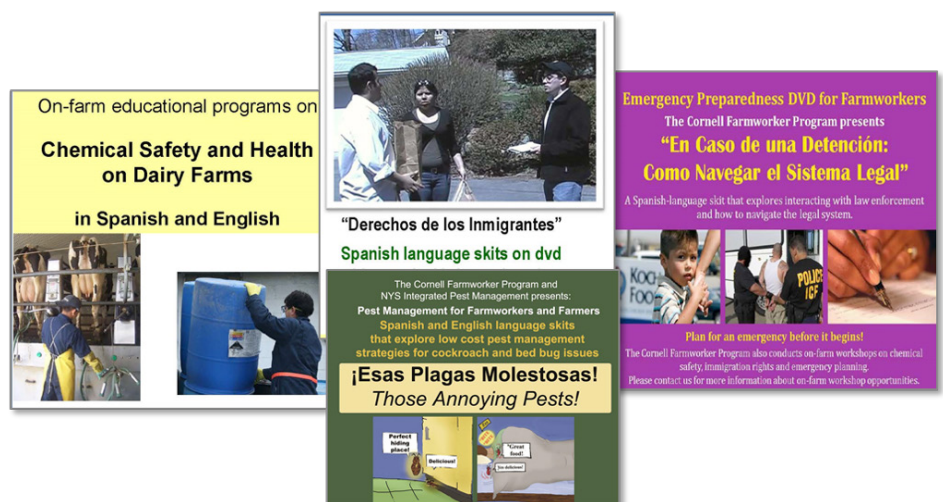


er and Kramnick 2014:234; Engman 2007; [Cornell Migrant Program] 2002), the Department was also a part of the newest set of changes, with Max Pfeffer leading the transition team (“Cornell Migrant Labor Program to be Changed” 2004; “Migrant Program May Switch” 2004).⁵¹

Since joining CaRDI, the Cornell Farmworker Program has focused on “improving the living and working conditions of farmworkers and their families through research, education and extension,” with much of its work conducted in collaboration with other groups and organizations (Cornell Farmworker Program 2015a). Programs included workshops with farmers and farmerworkers on strategies to improve workplace relations, developing and maintaining an

online bilingual service directory, developing Spanish language DVDs, and providing bilingual fruit-culture-training publications and YouTube videos demonstrating the skills needed for pruning and insect monitoring, in conjunction with Cornell Cooperative Extension of Ulster County, and funded by a Northeast SARE (Sustainable Agriculture Research and Education) grant. Other programs included working with the Upstate Immigration Project of the Legal Aid Society to develop materials and resources; working with both the Mexican and Guatemalan mobile consulates (“Mobile Consulate Services” 2018); and delivering almost 200 on-farm workshops on immigrant rights and emergency planning. In recognition of its positive impact, the Farmworker Program won Cornell’s prestigious James A. Perkins Prize for Interracial and Intercultural Peace and Harmony, recognizing “the Cornell student, faculty, staff member, or program making the most significant contribution to furthering the ideal of university community while respecting the values of racial diversity” (Cornell University [2019]).

As with its educational programs, publications produced by the Farmworker Program also reflected a wide array of partnerships. For instance, research on dairy farming and the labor needs for responding to the boom in yogurt consumption resulted from a collaborative research project with PathStone Corporation, Cornell Farmworker Program, and Cornell Cooperative Extension, and was funded partly by the New York Depart-



⁵¹ This time, the changes included broadening the mission to include research, increasing funding, and moving the program from the College of Human Ecology to the College of Agriculture (“Migrant Program Seeks” 2005; “Cornell Migrant Program” 2005; “Cornell Migrant Labor Program to be Changed” 2004). As before, this set of changes was not without controversy (“Controversy Grows” 2004; “Coalition Holds ‘Funeral’” 2005; “Migrant Program May Switch” 2004; “Migrant Program Seeks” 2005). After having been led by Herb Engman for 3 decades, Glenn Applebee, Associate Director of Cornell Cooperative Extension, was named Interim Director (“Cornell Migrant Labor Program to be Changed” 2004). For more on the Cornell Migrant Program, see Engman (2007) and the 30th anniversary celebrated just before the reorganization ([Cornell Migrant Program] 2002).

ment of State as a project of the New York State Office for New Americans (Hamilton and Dudley 2013). Other research included working with the Empire State Poll conducted by the Survey Research Institute (SRIC) at Cornell University to assess New York residents' perceptions and attitudes towards farmworkers (Dudley and Alexander 2009a; 2009b).⁵²

Including both graduate and undergraduate students since its beginning, the Cornell Farmworker Program has had over 100 summer interns working in a variety of capacities, conducting research and educational outreach.⁵³ Soon after taking leadership, Mary Jo began the Cornell Farmworker Program Summer Student Internship. As Mary Jo shared with *The Cornell Daily Sun*, "One of my goals as the director was to get students involved on an ongoing basis in addressing the needs of farmworkers and their families" ("Cornell Students" 2013). The program "facilitates Cornell student involvement in research and extension related to the issues that farmworkers face" ("Cornell Students" 2013; Cornell Farmworker Program 2018). Recognizing the internship program, in 2015, Mary Jo was awarded the George D. Levy Engaged Teaching and Research Award ("Showcase Honors" 2015).

The Polson Institute for Global Development

"A symposium, 'Global Developments in the 21st Century,' will be hosted by Cornell's new Robert A. and Ruth E. Polson Institute for Global Development" read the article in the *Cornell Chronicle* ("Frances" 2001). The event featured a keynote address by Frances Moore Lappé, a public lecture by Peter Evans, and several panels over the 2-day event. It was the first public event sponsored by the Polson Institute, and it marked the Institute's inauguration.⁵⁴ The next year, the second annual Polson Lecture featured Benjamin R. Barber, who examined international terrorism, and which was followed by Michael Burawoy speaking on "Public Sociology in a Global Context" ("Benjamin Barber" 2002; "Michael Burawoy" 2003).⁵⁵ These events were just the beginning of the investments and enduring impact of the Polson Institute.

Established in 2001, the Polson Institute for Global Development was named for Bob and Ruth Polson. It was just the latest entity in the Department to recognize them and their generosity. As Phil described in his holiday letter, the Polson Institute came about because the Department received "a generous portion of the Polson estate" (McMichael 2000:1). During his 40-year-long career, Bob had been a faculty member and chair of the

52 In addition to publishing under its own masthead, briefs were published as part of CaRDI's publication series (Dudley and Blakely 2007). Research on the yogurt boom (Hamilton and Dudley 2013) was published as a *CaRDI Research & Policy Brief* (Dudley 2014), and a report on farmworker housing (Hamilton and Dudley 2010) was published in the *New York Minute* series (Dudley and Hamilton 2011).

53 Work by the interns included: "conducting research to assess farmworker needs; providing on-farm workshops including English as a second language, chemical safety, and emergency planning; surveying farmworker services and their usage; examining farmworker perspectives on labor issues; canvassing immigration concerns and developing relevant extension materials; and examining mental health issues and approaches" (Cornell Farmworker Program 2015b; "Students Help" 2010). Following the internship, students took the 1 credit class DSOC 3060 "Farmworkers: Contemporary Issues and Their Implications" (Cornell Farmworker Program 2018). Some interns published their work or continued their partnership beyond their time as a summer intern (e.g. Dudley and Hamilton 2011; Hamilton and Dudley 2010; 2013; Dudley and Alexander 2009a; 2009b).

54 To decide on the Institute's structure, by laws, and activities, the Department held a retreat at Arnot Forest. As Phil detailed in his holiday letter: "The Institute's activities will be distinguished by their departure from the regular research in the Department, and their promotion of innovative collaborations among faculty, and students, and between members of the Department and other programs and organizations on and off campus" (McMichael 2002:1). David Brown recounted the trials of starting the Institute: "Establishing the Polson Institute was a bit rocky as the Dean attempted to retain part of the money to fund Department positions, but Department chair Philip McMichael successfully showed that the donors did not have this in mind when making their bequest. He succeeded in protecting the money for the support of research and graduate student development in the department." Later, in 2011, the Department did agree to provide part of the endowment's annual earnings to support the hiring of a Polson Professor of Development Sociology.

55 When Michael Burawoy spoke at the Polson Institute event, he was president-elect of the American Sociological Association. In his 2004 presidential address (Burawoy 2005), Burawoy introduced his vision of sociological knowledge, arguing that the discipline needed to return to its public sociology roots, which both popularized the concept and sparked many subsequent works, critiques, and special issues of several journals, including *The British Journal of Sociology* (June 2005), *Critical Sociology* (Summer 2005), and *Social Forces* (June 2004) (e.g. Clawson et al. 2007; Nielsen 2004; Nichols 2007; Little 2004).



Bob and Ruth Polson

Department. In 1982, the Department's seminar room was named in his honor. And in 1989, with additional support from Olaf Larson, a student emergency fund begun by Bob was named the Polson-Larson Fund for Excellence (Dept. of Rural Sociology 1989:2; Larson, Taietz, and Erickson [1997]).

Created "to promote theoretical and applied research activities related to worldwide development" ("Frances" 2001), the Polson Institute supported Department research and collaborations through multiple mechanisms, including conferences, publications, research working groups, small grants, and support for student pre-dissertation fieldwork. Governed by a Director and steering committee, following Phil McMichael as its first interim Director ("Frances" 2001), the Institute has been overseen by 4 Directors: David Brown (2001-2005), Doug Gurak (2006-2012), and Shelley Feldman (2012-2016). Following

Shelley was Lori Leonard who began her term in 2016.

Over the years, the Polson Institute was a key source of funding and support yielding a wide array of research in the Department. The book *Contesting Development*, for example, began as the working group on Social Movements (McMichael 2010a:xiv). Support from the Institute also funded the case studies published in *Rural Retirement Migration* (D. Brown and Glasgow 2008:ix). Other books supported by the Polson Institute included *Accumulating Insecurity* (Feldman, Geisler, and Menon 2011a), and *Rural Transformations and Rural Policies in the US and UK* (Shucksmith et al. 2012).



Global economic pressure creates uncertainties for U.S. agriculture, Cornell researchers say in white paper

By Blaine Friedlander | September 24, 2003

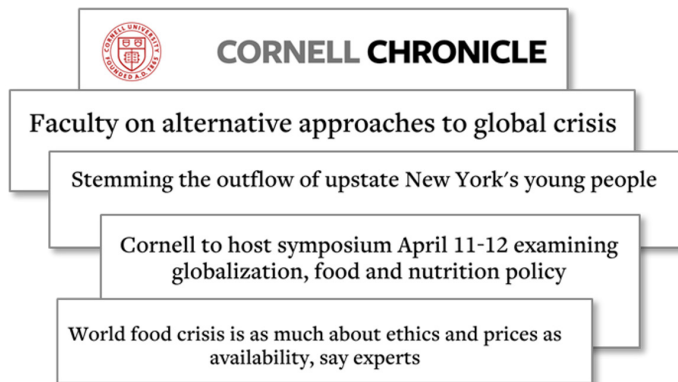
In addition to books, support for faculty publishing included white papers such as "Why Immigrants Leave New Destinations and Where Do They Go?" (Kritz, Gurak, and Lee 2013). The white paper, "The Future of American Agriculture and the Land Grant

University: Toward a Sustainable, Healthful and Entrepreneurial Food System" ("Global Economic Pressure" 2003; [Chabot, Lyson, and McMichael] 2003), which included Tom Lyson and Phil McMichael, was later cited in detail in a Presidential address to the Agriculture, Food, and Human Values Society (Wilkins 2005).⁵⁶ Special issues of journals included the Polson Institute-supported papers on new enclosures in the journal *Rural Sociology*, which featured work from the New Enclosures Research Working Group (Bonanno 2014; Geisler and Makki 2014).⁵⁷

⁵⁶ The white paper resulted from the Polson Institute-sponsored Future of American Agriculture Symposium. It was a year-long dialogue with monthly presentations that examined national and global food system trends ([Chabot, Lyson, and McMichael] 2003:2).

⁵⁷ The Polson Institute was also a strong supporter of the Department's participation in the American Sociological Association's Section on Development Sociology, which the Department was instrumental in establishing. From the very beginning, the Polson Institute provided assistance for conducting the section's annual conference, the first of which was held at Cornell, as was the 2015 conference for which Wendy Wolford served as the key organizer (D. Brown 2015; [no author] 2015b). In 2015, David was elected Section Chair and Wendy Wolford served on the Section Council. In recent years, the Institute has provided travel money to faculty and PhD students to facilitate their attendance at Section conferences, an extremely important venue for student professional socialization and career building.

Investing in the future, the Polson Institute also supported future scholars through dissertation support, such as write-up or travel grants. Just a few of the graduate students who received this support were Dia Da Costa (PhD 2003), Thomas G. Safford (2004), László Kulcsár (PhD 2005), Emelie K. Peine (PhD 2009), Gayatri A. Menon (PhD 2009), Nosheen Kassam Ali (PhD 2009), Kelly Lynn Dietz (PhD 2010), Florio Orocio Arguillas (PhD 2011), Catherine A. Meola (PhD 2012), and Marion W. Dixon (PhD 2013).



In addition to supporting work such as thematic working groups and small grants, it was through public events sponsored and co-sponsored by the Polson Institute that brought in scholars who spoke to the wider Cornell community.⁵⁸ Conferences ranged from “Rethinking Development: An Interdisciplinary Conference” and “Neoliberalism in Contention: A Social Movement Analysis,” to a CaRDI Research Roundtable Luncheon on rural out-migration of youth (“Stemming the Outflow” 2014). In 2005, Larry Busch (PhD 1974) returned as part of the Polson Institute for Glob-

al Development seminar series (“Busch: Food Certification” 2005) – to name but a few.

Much of the work initially supported by the Polson Institute led to longer-term collaborative efforts, while others developed into independent entities (Dept. of Development Sociology 2018). For example, the Food, Agroecology, Justice, and Well Being Collective became a local partnership on building a sustainable food system in Tompkins County. With Wendy Wolford’s leadership, the Polson Institute was also a founding member of the Land Deal Politics Initiative (LDPI). Having funded the founders’ initial meetings through the Institute’s U.S.-Europe Rural Development working group, the Trans-Atlantic Rural Research Network (TARRN) became a collaboration among 6 universities in the U.S. and the United Kingdom (UK). Since then, TARRN has produced books as well as special issues of scholarly journals. In recognition of initial funding provided by the Institute, TARRN donated ½ of its earnings from *Rural Transformations and Rural Policies in the US and UK* (Shucksmith et al. 2002) to the Polson Institute.⁵⁹

Social Media, YouTube, and the Internet

“Facebook Connects C.U.” read the headline in the *Cornell Daily Sun* (2004). Begun by the student Mark Zuckerberg at Harvard, Facebook was originally called a “directory,” and then a social networking site. But it would not take long before Facebook was a staple in the new online world called “social media.”⁶⁰ Soon afterwards, Facebook would be joined by Twitter, Snapchat, Tumblr, YouTube, and oth-



58 In its early years, working groups of the Polson Institute included: Globalization, Farm Crises, and Food Security (McMichael 2001b); Social Justice Movements (McMichael 2001); Rural Policy, Rural Disadvantage and New Definitions of Citizenship (McMichael 2002); Global Food Systems (McMichael 2002); Population and Environment (McMichael 2003b); and Social Movements (McMichael 2003b).

59 TARRN has involved a number of Department faculty members, including John Sipple, Nina Glasgow, Tom Hirschl, and David Brown, as well as numerous PhD students.

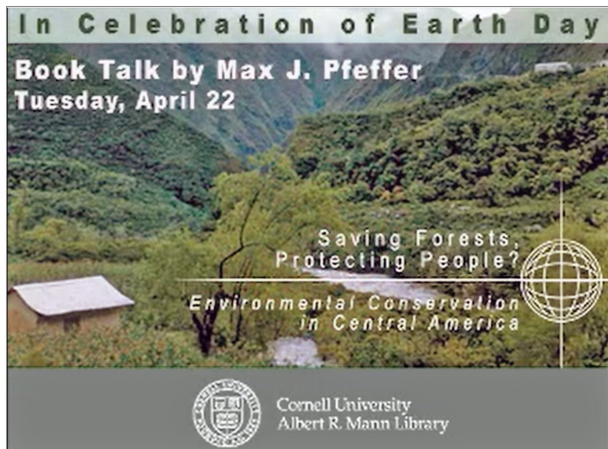
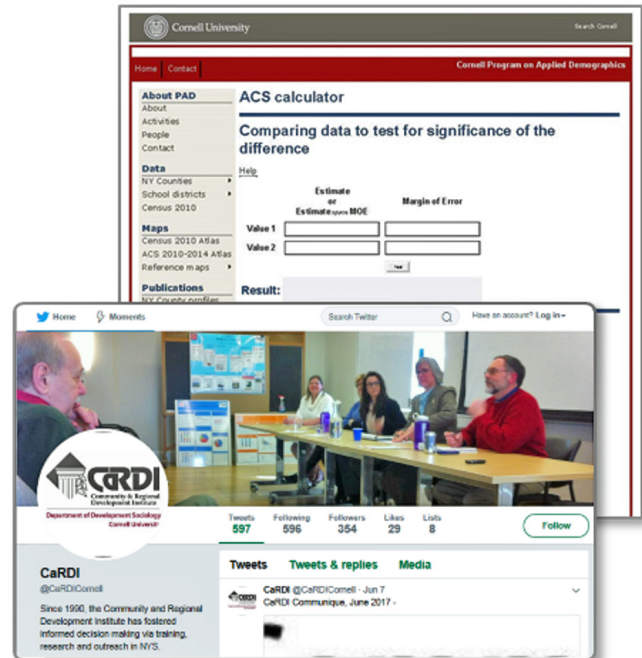
60 Even in the early years, as the online world grew, so too did debates about its uses and about sites selling information about their users (“Facebook: Giving Personal Information” 2007). Another danger that emerged was the ability to create fictitious sites and profiles (“Facebook Highlights Dangers” 2009), which led to the popularized term “catfish” – or luring someone into an online relationship through a fake profile.

er sites that would all change the way people connected with one another.⁶¹

Just as Cornell joined Facebook early in its development, throughout the 2000s the university would develop and utilize multiple social media and online platforms to reach and connect students (“Website Launches” 2015), to provide access to live-streaming and videos of speakers through CornellCast and YouTube (“On its 10th Birthday, Library’s Chats in the Stacks” 2011), for research (“Cornell Professor” 2014), and for promoting and connecting online its many aspects of university life (“‘Overheard’ ” 2015; “www.cornell.edu” 2007).⁶² In 2015, there was even online voting on Facebook to name Cornell’s most recent ice cream flavor (“The Scoop” 2015).

For the Department, its website would also grow and change over the 2000s. The newest version not only included information about its degrees, its members, and its programs, there was also a continuously updated feed providing recent events and accomplishments of Department members and alumni. In 2011, CaRDI joined Twitter with John Sipple creating its first ‘tweet’ (<https://twitter.com/cardic Cornell?lang=en>). Part of the Cornell Population Center, the Program on Applied Demographics (PAD), for which Joe Francis served as Director, provided online access to analyses, maps, and data for New York counties, and included an online calculator for estimates from the American Community Survey (<https://pad.human.cornell.edu/index.cfm>). Drawing on their work together, Tom Hirschl and his longtime collaborator Mark Rank created a website and online poverty risk calculator (<https://confrontingpoverty.org/>).

As web technology developed, part of the new digital



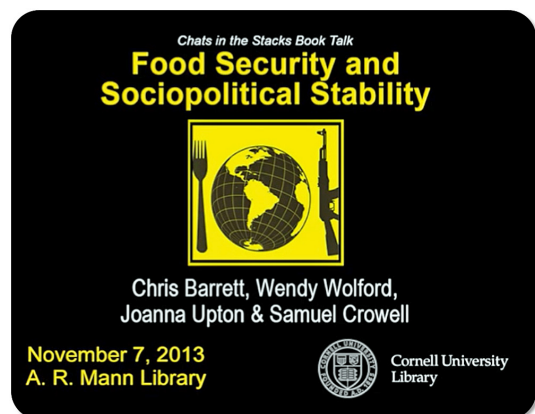
world was online access to videos, live-streaming, and podcasts – which meant that you no longer had to attend an event in order to view it. For instance, almost a decade after Max Pfeffer’s 2008 talk for Earth Day, “highlighting insights on the complex interrelationships between forests and people – and the sometimes contradictory effects of forest conservation policy,” was posted on YouTube (Albert R. Mann Library 2017b).

Mann Library’s series “Chats in the Stacks” was one place where videos of Department faculty’s presentations on their work could be found online. The series’ full name was “Chats in the Stacks Book Talks at the Library: Crossing Disciplines

with Cornell authors, one book at a time” (<https://www.library.cornell.edu/booktalks>). Just a sampling of Department faculty videos include: Chuck Geisler and Shelley Feldman who spoke about their book *Accumulat-*

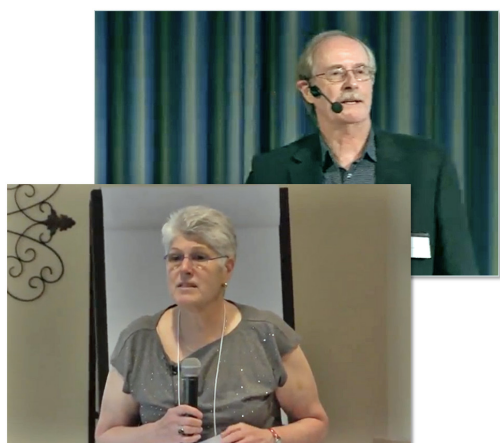
61 As the Internet grew as a place to find information, so too did the crowdsourced Wikipedia. Launched in 2001, Wikipedia was a web-based, crowdsourced encyclopedia. While the content is openly editable by registered users, even Wikipedia cautions about using it for research papers (e.g. Wikipedia Contributors [no date]a); and its coverage was “not universal” (e.g. Adams et al. 2019; Luo et al. 2019), it became a commonly used online reference resource in the 2000s (e.g. A. Brown 2011; Holman Rector 2008; Konieczny 2014).

62 Cornell was also an early adopter of what became the course management system Blackboard. Called CourseInfo, it was developed by Cornell student Daniel Cane and was initially used by 25 courses at Cornell (“Senior’s Company” 1997). In 1998, the company Blackboard bought CourseInfo and eventually dropped “CourseInfo” from its name.



ing *Insecurity* (Albert R. Mann Library 2012); Tom Hirschl discussed his book with Mark Rank *Chasing the American Dream* (Albert R. Mann Library 2015); Nina Glasgow, who co-edited *Rural Aging In 21st Century America*, discussed the book along with contributors David Brown and Doug Gurak (Albert R. Mann Library 2013); and Alicia C. S. Swords and Ronald Mize presented highlights from their book *Consuming Mexican Labor: From the Bracero Program to NAFTA* (Albert R. Mann Library 2011). Videos from the Chats in the Stacks series also meant being able to hear from Scott Peters prior to his joining the Department (Albert R. Mann Library 2017a).

As with the “Chats in the Stacks” series, YouTube provided an on-line platform for anyone to post videos, and the Mann Library series was only one of the places where videos featuring Department members and their work could be found. Joe Francis’ webinar training on county profiles: “Understanding and Using Socio-Economic Demographic Information to Support Community and Economic Development” was posted on YouTube through Cornell Cooperative Extension (CCE Cornell 2013). Videos from CaRDI events were also posted, such as “Youth Retention and Attraction in New York: A Research-based Approach through Student-Community-University Engagement” with John Sipple and Heidi Mouillesseaux-Kunzman (Barry 2015). Department faculty giving talks beyond Cornell could also find themselves posted to YouTube, such as Phil McMichael’s address to the Norwegian Social Science Research Council in Trondheim, Norway (SAMKUL 2014). Even Max Pfeffer’s introductory remarks at the first Cornell Geospatial Forum can be seen on YouTube (Science Media Production Center 2015b).



Phil McMichael and Shelley Feldman

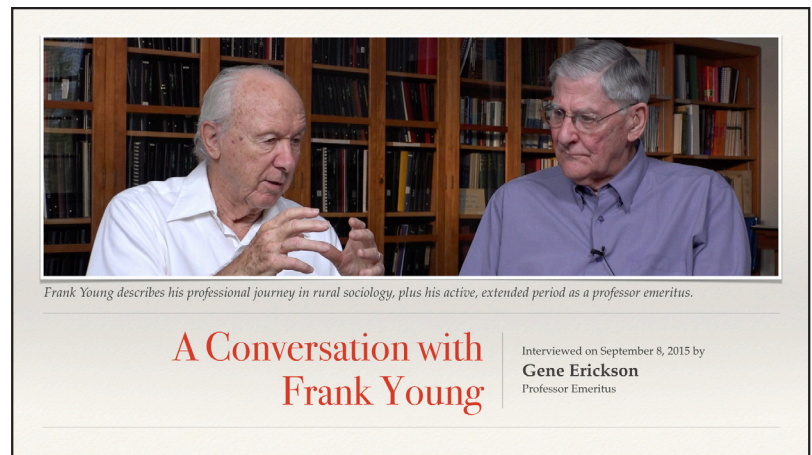
In a joining of the new online social media, in a video with Shelley Feldman as a panel member for the event “Advancing Women in Agriculture through Research and Education,” which was part of the IP-CALS 50th anniversary events, the moderator noted for the audience the Twitter handle #IP50 (“hashtag”) or @CornellCALS, so that people could tweet in real time during the presentation (Science Media Production Center 2013).

Still Not Done Yet

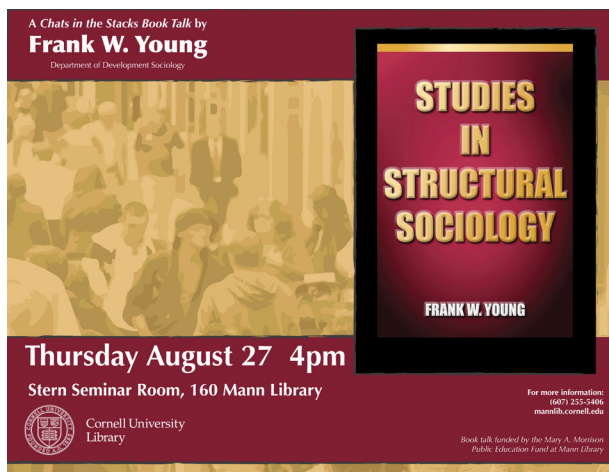
The phrase “not done yet” doesn’t quite capture the multiple ways in which Department faculty tended to remain professionally active after retirement. While Olaf Larson was the oldest retired faculty member, Frank Young wasn’t done yet either. “I love to get up in the morning when I’m working on these things. It’s too much to pass up,” Frank Young said in his 2015 interview with Gene Erickson (Young and Erickson 2015, <https://hdl.handle.net/1813/42408>). This comment perhaps best encapsulates Frank’s motivation behind his productivity since retiring in 1995. In the 15 years just since the start of the 2000s, Frank published 2 books (Young 2009; 2015) and over 20 journal articles with more coming out (2016).

Throughout the 2000s, Frank continued his work on population health and structural ecology. As he later explained: “I first became interested in the social causation of health in the context of development studies, where

the central question was, and still is, “Why are some communities better off than others?” (2009:1). Publishing in a wide range of journals, together they illustrate the continuity of his work and include the *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* (2001a), *Social Theory and Health* (2004a; 2006b), *Human Ecology Review* (Young and Minai 2002), and *Health and Place* (2006a).⁶³ In 2009, Frank brought together much of his longstanding work on health in the book: *The Structural Ecology of Health and Community* (2009) <https://hdl.handle.net/1813/11809>.



Frank used his sociological approach to critique public and other approaches to health (Young 2004a; 2004b; 2006b), and to examine issues of community. He critiqued Putnam’s popular work *Bowling Alone* (Putnam 2000; Young 2001b). He also tested the popular book *What’s the Matter with Kansas* (Frank 2007), where he used structural ecology to assess the book’s central thesis around voting (Young 2013). Frank returned to Kansas to examine the newly emerging “Deaths of Despair” thesis (Case and Deaton 2015; Young 2016).



In his second book, *Studies in Structural Sociology*, Frank was inspired by early sociological research on community sociology conducted at the University of Chicago early in the last century to argue for a new approach to sociology. As he explained, in contrast to the “individual in society” approach, instead he took “the whole community as its unit of analysis” (2015:1-2). How communities adapt, Frank argued, reflects their problem-solving capabilities in the face of threats such as displacement, resource loss, or health. Each chapter follows the development of Frank’s version of structural sociology. With reprints of many of Frank’s earlier articles, the book contextualizes their place in his scholarly development, and it ends with a consideration of how his approach can

explain the rise of different types of contemporary movements (2015:160).⁶⁴

Also active in retirement, Gene Erickson facilitated recording the Centennial panel sessions ([no author] 2015; “Development Sociology” 2015) and conducted the extensive interview with Frank Young (Young and Erickson 2015). For Paul Eberts in 2009, his nearly 300-page “Towns Book” manuscript was put out by CaRDI (Eberts and Colleagues 2009). A collection of articles written with many in the Department, it can still be found on the CaRDI website. Now free to pursue other work, most of Paul’s post-retirement scholarship was working with his brother Harry W. Eberts Jr., on the early Jesus movement. They published four books on this topic, including *The Early Jesus Movement and Its Parties: A New Way to Look at the New Testament* (Eberts and Eberts 2009; 2011). Unfortunately, Paul passed away in 2016 (Francis, Erickson, and Flora [2016]).

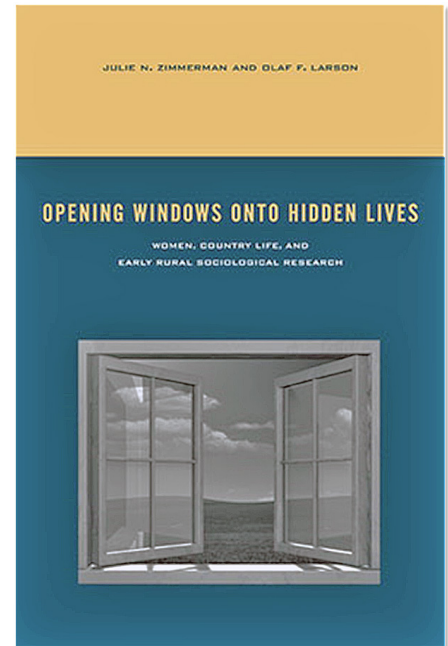
63 Publishing with Kenneth Robinson (PhD 2001), they used “factor analysis to identify types of communities and the threats they face and evaluates their success in dealing with these by comparisons based on age-adjusted mortality rates” (Young and Robinson 2011:109). Twice, Frank published with Tom Lyson (2001; 2006).

64 Frank’s talk “The Islamic Counter-Reformation: A Sociological Explanation” was part of the Cornell Association of Professors Emeriti (CAPE) lecture series. In it, he argued “that the world is in the midst of a rerun of something like the European Reformation-Counter-Reformation” (Cornell Cast 2010)

<http://www.cornell.edu/video/frank-young-the-islamic-counterreformation>

The oldest professor emeritus of the Department, Olaf Larson, was now moving into the third decade of his “retirement.” Even with the passing of his original co-author, Ed Moe, *Sociology in Government* was published in 2003 (Larson and Zimmerman 2003). In 2010 (at 100 years old), Olaf published two more books. Building on their work about the USDA’s Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Olaf co-authored *Opening Windows onto Hidden Lives: Women, Country Life, and Early Rural Sociological Research* with Julie N. Zimmerman (PhD 1997) (Zimmerman and Larson 2010). The book was part of the Rural Sociological Society’s “Rural Studies Series,” and in 2013 was nominated for the Distinguished Scholarly Publication Award of the American Sociological Association’s History of Sociology Section.

The year 2010 also saw Olaf publish his own book – *When Horses Pulled the Plow* (Larson 2010). Following the style of a rural sociological community study, Olaf recounted growing up in rural Wisconsin. To honor his 100th birthday, the Rural Sociological Society’s (RSS) Senior Rural Sociologists Research and Interest Group donated funds for renaming the RSS student paper award in his name.⁶⁵ Likely the oldest member of the ASA (certainly the oldest member of RSS), the ASA recognized Olaf with lifetime membership to the ASA, a plaque, and a clock. In 2013, the ASA again highlighted Olaf and his long career with an invited article about his sociological contributions for *Footnotes* (Zimmerman 2013). It was not until 2017 that Olaf passed away – just 3 months shy of turning 108 years old (Zimmerman and Brown 2019; D. Brown, Eloundou-Enyegue, and Zimmerman 2018).



A New Name for the 2000s and Beyond

After what had been a long transition, the Department changed its name for the third time in its 100-year history. Originally called the Department of Social Organization, the first change came in 1939 when it became the Department of Rural Sociology. In 1968, the graduate field was changed to Development Sociology. Even though graduate fields at Cornell can span across departments, the name change began decades of having a mismatch between name of the graduate field and the name of the Department (Cornell 1968:200; 210). Three years into the new millennium, the mismatch was ended when the Department’s name changed for its third time and became the Department of Development Sociology.⁶⁶

With its new name, the Department would become known as DSOC or Dev Soc. As Phil explained in his holiday letter, “This initiative gathered steam as faculty became more and more convinced that the term ‘development’ captured more of who we are than ‘rural.’ Of course, rural sociology is integral to development sociology, but we felt we needed to communicate a broader intellectual and applied mission” (McMichael 2002).⁶⁷ To kick

65 To get a sense of the span of Olaf’s career, as a graduate student he attended the meeting where it was decided to establish the Rural Sociological Society as a professional organization independent from the American Sociological Association.

66 The Department was not alone when it came to changing its name. Amidst budget cuts and concurrently increasing attention to enrollments and instruction, the years following the millennium brought changes for rural sociology at many universities. Similar to the trend in Geography (Frazier and Wikle 2017), several departments began changing their names to reflect contemporary issues as they sought to better clarify and signify their relevance (“Abandoned in the Field” 2009). At the University of Wisconsin, for instance, the name became the Department of Community and Environmental Sociology (“Rural Sociology is Now” 2009). Remarking on the closure of Washington State University’s Department of Community and Rural Sociology, and having been one of the current and past presidents of the Rural Sociological Society who organized advertisements protesting the decision, David Brown noted how rural issues are “devalued” and how rural people “are those who are easily overlooked in the higher education system, in which the land grant universities are the only ones with a clear brief to focus on them” (“Abandoned in the Field” 2009).

67 While the name change was not without contestation and “rural” was still considered part of the scope of the Department, by the summer of 2017, the graduate student handbook no longer included rural in the name of its Environment and Development concentration (Development Sociology 2017), and throughout, the word “rural” only appeared in relation to naming

off having a new name, the Department embarked on two initiatives. First was the conference titled, “Development Challenges for the 21st Century,” which included Immanuel Wallerstein as the keynote speaker (McMichael 2004b; Wallerstein 2005). The second initiative was establishing the Rural New York Initiative (RNYI), which sought to link more effectively rural New York communities and faculty working on New York State. As Phil explained, the RNYI centered on four themes: “community and economic development, agricultural and food system restructuring, environment, and social inequality” (McMichael 2003b).

Transitions, Losses, and New Beginnings

If the 1990s were as replete with change as Gene Erickson had predicted (Dept. of Rural Sociology [1989]:5), the years after the new millennium had their own fill and then some. This time, nine new faculty joined the Department, another two came and went, five long-time faculty retired, and one passed away too young. These years also saw the Polson Institute for Global Development established (McMichael 2000b), members of the Department were instrumental in establishing the Sociology of Development Section of the American Sociological Association, CaRDI joined as an official part of the Department (Pfeffer 2007), and the Department spent about 3 years in modular buildings before returning to a newly renovated Warren Hall (“Warren Hall Reborn” 2015).

In 2010, the Department’s oldest graduate student, Isao Fujimoto, completed his PhD (“After Nearly 50 Years” 2010), and Kris Merschrod organized a reunion with 18 alumni from the 1960s and 1970s all returning to Ithaca (“Development Sociology” 2014).⁶⁸ In 2009, what had been the Population and Development library became the J. M. Stycos Memorial Population Collection in Mann Library (Pfeffer 2010). As Max shared in his holiday letter, “We dedicated the creation of the collection with a featured lecture by Axel Mundigo and a photographic exhibition of Professor Stycos’ work in the Mann Gallery” (Pfeffer 2010:1).



The Department hosted many events during these years, including the year-long symposium *The Future of American Agriculture* (McMichael 2001), which culminated in the white paper “The Future of American Agriculture and the Land Grant University: Toward a Sustainable, Healthful, and Entrepreneurial Food System” ([Chabot, Lyson, and McMichael] 2003). In 2009, the Department co-hosted the two-day conference “Visible Warnings: The World Food Crisis in Perspective” (“World Food” 2009), as well as “Accumulating Insecurity, Securing Accumulation: Militarizing Everyday Life” (“Scholars to Address” 2009). In 2011, the conference “Rethinking Development” included both a wide range of faculty and students, as well as a slate of invited speakers (“Rethinking Development Conference Success” 2011; “Rethinking Development” 2011), to name just a few.

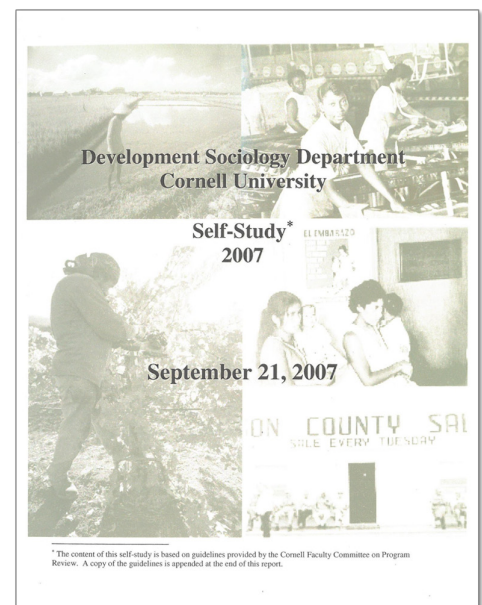
the Rural Sociological Society as a professional organization and conference. Even CaRDI would change its name from “rural development” to “regional development,” and its publication series *Rural New York Minute* became simply *New York Minute*.

68 Pictured left to right: Sara Gagan, Jerry Wheelock, Richard Gagan, Paul Eberts, Mary Durland, Lori Young, Neal Flora, Sharon Ireson, Chuck Geisler, Louise Fortmann, Wendy Baring-Gould, Frank Young, Ron Witton, Randy Ireson, Gene Erickson, Isao Fujimoto, Nancy Moxley, Bob Moxley, Stella Merschrod, Jan Flora, Ann Erickson, Kris Merschrod, Helene Eberts. Also attending were Catheryn Obern, Rich Obern, Don Lifton, George Rolleston, John Dennis, Judi Schubmehl Clippinger, and Tom Harblin. <https://devsoc.cals.cornell.edu/sites/devsoc.cals.cornell.edu/files/shared/DEVELOPMENT%20SOCIOLOGY%20PICNIC%20Photo%20and%20list.pdf>

In the 15 years between the start of the new millennium and the 100th anniversary celebration, the Department saw numerous changes in its midst. During this time, Cornell would hire its first female President (“Garrett” 2014) only to have her term cut short by her passing (“President” 2016). When Susan Henry was made Dean of the College (“Henry reappointed” 2004), the Department was the first she visited after taking the helm (McMichael 2000b). In 2010, Kathryn J. Boor (“Kathryn Boor” 2010) became the College’s second woman to be Dean, and that same year Cornell conducted a university-wide strategic plan (Pfeffer 2010; “Comments Sought” 2010). In 2014, the College released its own plan titled *Knowledge with Public Purpose in a Changing World* (CALS 2014).

The Department underwent a series of its own planning processes during these years. Retreats included planning surrounding the Polson endowment, which led to the Polson Institute (McMichael 2000), and a strategic planning retreat that led not only to a Department strategic plan, but also one that was “well received by the college administration” (Pfeffer 2009). In 2007, a decade after its previous review, the Department underwent another external review (Dept. of Development Sociology 2007; Bearman, Snipp, and Tigges 2007).

Over the years, teaching also changed in the Department, reflecting the plan to bring the graduate and undergraduate curricula into line. In 2001, the Teaching Committee headed by Doug Gurak reconfigured the undergraduate curriculum “around the theme of development sociology,” which helped strengthen its linkages to the graduate curriculum (McMichael 2001). The next year, the Development Sociology graduate field was changed so that it had a standard set of courses in theory and methods (McMichael 2002). In 2007, the Department launched the new undergraduate minor called “Globalization, Ethnicity and Development” (Pfeffer 2007). In 2015, a graduate handbook was put together by Laurie Johnson, Wendy Wolford, Sara Keene, Ian Bailey, Tess Pendergrast, and Ellie Andrews, and has since been revised (Dept. of Development Sociology 2017:v). More recently, planning for the new “Community Food Systems” minor was underway (“New Minor” 2016). Department faculty also contributed courses to the new interdisciplinary major in “Environmental Science and Sustainability” (“35 Professors” 2013; “Cornell Launches” 2012).



Using donations sent to the Department after Phil Taietz’s passing, the Department established the Taietz Award for the outstanding graduate student paper (McMichael 2000b), and the next year announced its first recipient - Emilie Peine (MS 2002, PhD 2009) (McMichael 2001).⁶⁹ The plaque for the Taietz Award joined those for the Olaf F. Larson Merit Award in Development Sociology, recognizing juniors majoring in Development Sociology, and the Dwight Sanderson Excellence Award for graduating seniors. The Department’s fundraising efforts each year focus on the Sanderson Fund, which provides needs-based scholarship assistance to undergraduate students, and the Polson-Larson Fund that supports graduate students in professional memberships, summer research support, and emergency assistance.

As the 2000s unfolded, the generation of Department faculty that led the way in the 1980s and 1990s were moving into their respective next chapters. Retirements during these years included Joe Stycos in 2000, Paul Eberts in 2008, Joe Francis, Nina Glasgow, and Mary Kritz in 2014, and Doug Gurak in 2015. Losses included

69 After Emilie Peine, subsequent recipients were: 2002 - Rachel Bezner Kerr; 2003 - Carylanna Bahamondes; 2004 - Marie Joy Arguillas; 2005 - László Kulcsár; 2006 - Fatou Jah; 2007 - Megan Gremelspacher; 2008 - Gayatri Menon; 2009 - Jason Cons; 2010 - Christian Lentz; 2011 - Marygold Walsh-Dilley; 2012 - Mindi Schneider; 2013 - Sarah Keene; 2015 - Edmund Oh (names and dates from plaque in Polson Seminar room).

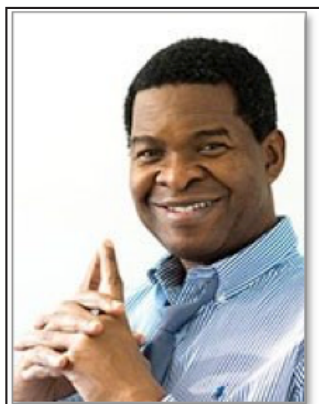
the passing of Phil Taietz (Erickson, Larson, and Young [nd] 2000), as well as Joe Stycos, Paul Eberts, and Olaf Larson after the Centennial.⁷⁰ In 2007, and only 3 days after Christmas, Tom Lyson died at the age of 58 (Gillespie and Falk 2007; Gillespie, Geisler, and McMichael [nd]).⁷¹

The new decade would also see a lot of changes in the Department staff. Just two years in, long-time staff Brenda Creeley, Bev Munson, Beverly Wells, and Nancy Winch would all depart (McMichael 2002). At the time Phil remarked, “While we will recover two positions, the staff has shrunk through this process, and at this rate it won’t be long before the Chair’s duties will include managing faculty travel arrangements” (McMichael 2002:2). Just two years later, Josie Velez also retired (McMichael 2004b).

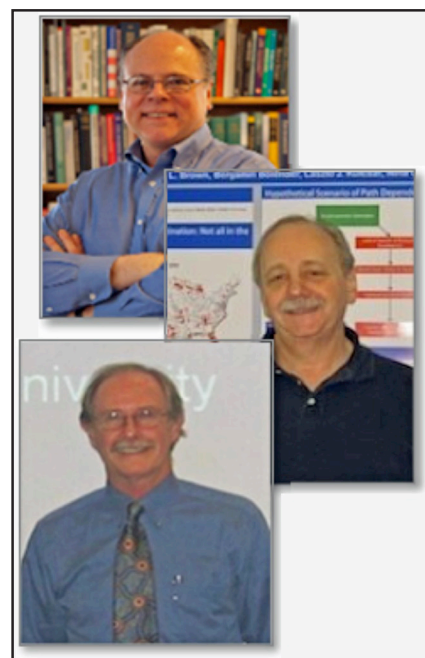
As familiar long-time faces in the Department were leaving, new beginnings were also underway. New faculty joining the Department in the years after 2000 included Parfait Eloundou Enyegue in 2000, Angela Gonzales in 2002, Fouad Makki in 2006, Alaka Basu in 2007, Wendy Wolford in 2010, John Sipple in 2011, Rachel Bezner Kerr in 2012, and Lori Leonard in 2014. At the Centennial celebration in 2015, Scott Peters was the newest face in the Department. Following soon after would be John Zinda in 2016 and Jenny Goldstein the next year.⁷²

In addition to the many administrative assistants overseeing the Department and its programs, some of the new staff that joined Terri Denman during these years included Renee Hoffman and Cindy Twardokus as Department Chair Assistants, Ann Prince and Susan Barry Smith as Program Coordinators, and Laurie Johnson replaced Tracy Aagard as the Graduate Field Assistant.

“I want to take this opportunity to welcome Max Pfeffer to the Chair position” wrote Phil in what he thought would be his last holiday letter as Department Chair (2005b). Little did he know that he would return to the position nearly 10 years later. In fact, there were 3 Department chairs leading up to the Centennial in 2015. The 2000s opened with Phil McMichael in the corner office (1999-2005). Max Pfeffer was second, serving as chair from 2006 to 2010, before becoming the College’s Senior Associate Dean (“Max Pfeffer Named” 2010). Having already been chair from 1992 to 1999, David Brown served again from 2010 to 2013, during which time he oversaw the temporary move to the “Mods,” and then back into the newly renovated Warren Hall. In 2014, Phil McMichael also returned to the role of Department chair and served through the Department’s Centennial in 2015 (“Development Sociology” 2015). Following the Centennial, Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue became chair, and his leadership would begin the unfolding of the Department’s next 100 years.



Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue



Max Pfeffer (top), David Brown, Phil McMichael

70 With the deaths of two graduate students, the year leading into the Centennial was particularly difficult (“VP Murphy” 2015).

71 In 2015, the Food Systems Development Project (FSDP) was renamed the Thomas A. Lyson Center for Civic Agriculture and Food Systems in his honor (<http://www.lysoncenter.org>) (“CTA’s Lyson Center” 2015). The Center is a project of the Center for Transformative Action (<http://www.centerfortransformativeaction.org>).

72 In contrast to the Department’s past, when all of its faculty had degrees in sociology or rural sociology, its new focus on development sociology also brought changes in its faculty composition. While all new faculty focus on various aspects of development, about half are trained in other academic disciplines, including geography, history, education, and public health.

Department Faculty 2000-2015

Department Faculty 2000-2015

Start date	End date	Person	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
1987	2000	Joe Stycos																
1987	2006	Tom Lyson																
1997	2006	Paul Gellert																
1966	2008	Paul Eberts																
1969	2014	Joe Francis																
1979	2014	Chuck Geisler																
1990	2014	Mary Kritz*																
1989	2015	Doug Gurak																
1984	Present	Shelley Feldman																
1986	Present	Tom Hirschl																
1987	Present	David Brown																
1988	Present	Phil McMichael																
1993	Present	Max Pfeffer																
1993	Present	Lindy Williams																
1992	Present	Nina Glasgow*																
2000	Present	Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue																
2002	Present	Angela Gonzales																
2004	2012	Ronald Mize																
2006	Present	Fouad Makki																
2007	Present	Alaka Basu																
2010	Present	Wendy Welford																
2011	Present	John Sipple																
2012	Present	Rachel Bezner Kerr																
2014	Present	Lori Leonard																
2015	Present	Scott Peters																

* = Began as a faculty appointment

Does not include courtesy appointments or visiting appointments such as Odd Grande, Galia Tagumpay Castillo, Minnie Brown, Ed Moe, etc.

Warren Hall



It might seem unusual to end with a tribute to a building, but for the Department, Warren Hall has been its home for more than 8 decades. And when it comes to the rural social sciences in colleges of agriculture, Warren Hall is also unique. It was built specifically to house and support the Departments of Rural Sociology and Agricultural Economics at Cornell - itself an unusual happening (Stanton 2001:95).

In 1915 when Albert R. Mann was named Professor of Rural Social Organization, the entire College was housed in 3 buildings, with more under construction (Stanton 2001:23). Through a succession of successful campaigns and state appropriations, the College had been growing. As described by Cornell University historian Gould Colman, at his retirement Dean Liberty Hyde Bailey “could see construction all about him” (Colman 1963:245). In 1912, the College assumed the quadrangle configuration we know today (Colman 1963:245).

Following the College’s first dean, Liberty Hyde Bailey, Albert R. Mann oversaw even more construction. Having successfully obtained funding for, and completed, a building for Home Economics, attention turned to the rural social sciences. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was Governor of New York, and during his visit to Farm and Home Week, the Governor assured Dean Mann that he intended to secure funds each year “until the building needs of the College were satisfied” (Colman 1963:375).



Robert Polson, Mary Ellen Duthie, W. A. Anderson,
Dwight Sanderson, and Howard Beers

Warren Hall



Entry to Development Sociology

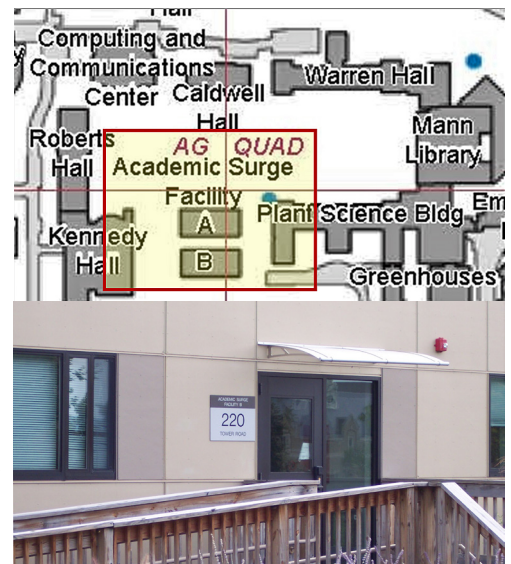
Construction began on Warren Hall in 1930, and when it was dedicated two years later, it became the home for the departments of Rural Sociology and Agricultural Economics. The building was dedicated to teaching and soon became one of the most heavily used classroom buildings on campus.

Before the Alfalfa Room became a lounge/cafe, Olaf Larson recalled how staff in the Department ran an unofficial snack business to generate petty cash (Eberts 2005). In 1952, construction on the Albert E. Mann Library was completed at the end of the quad, and a few years later a wing was constructed to connect Warren Hall to the library (Colman 1963:485). In 1960 an automatic elevator was installed (Stanton 2001:155). Over time, computing facilities were added (NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences 1980:8; 1984:7) until desktop and laptop computers became ubiquitous.

By 2011, nearly eighty years since it was built, the time had come for a complete renovation (“Warren Hall Reborn” 2015). During the construction, the Department was moved into temporary modular units located next to the Plant Sciences building, named “Academic Surge 1 and 2.” At the rededication of Warren Hall, David Brown, who had been chair during the construction period, recalled being known as the “Mayor of the Mods” (“Warren Hall Reborn” 2015).

On the outside, the Warren Hall that so many hold in their memories still looks much the same, but the interior was renovated to include the latest in electronic and air handling technology, design, and classroom resources. Combining sustainability practices with preservation, even the marble stall dividers from the old bathrooms were repurposed as flooring. For the Department, faculty offices – once spread across all of the floors – are now consolidated on the first and second floors.

With the building’s re-opening, the once infamous “corner office” that had been the Department chair’s home for so many years, is now located in a central space on the second floor. With its rededication in 2015, both Warren Hall and the Department began their respective next chapters.



The Department’s “new front door”

Warren Hall



Faculty office



Ribbon Cutting at Reopening



Polson Seminar Room



Hallway with Centennial Banner



Hallway Outside the Polson Seminar Room

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Collage:

Cornell Migrant Program Flyers: “Cornell Farmworker Program Extension Resources [on farm workshops]”; “Cornell Farmworker Program offers a Statewide Directory”; “Cornell Farmworker Program Extension Resources [Spanish language skits]”; Handout “CFP conducts workshops...”.

Collage:

Cornell Migrant Program Flyers [clockwise from left]: “Chemical Safety and Health on Dairy Farms”; “Derechos des los Inmigrantes”; “Emergency Preparedness DVD for farmworkers”; and “Pest Management for Farmers and Farmworkers.”

Photo. Bob and Ruth Polson. Photo displayed in the Polson Seminar Room taken by author.

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Photo. Philip Taietz Award Plaque. Photo taken by author. June 15, 2018.

Collage:

Photo. Max Pfeffer. "Department Chairs." Poster prepared by Sara Keene for the Centennial Celebration.

Photo. David Brown. "Department Chairs." Poster prepared by Sara Keene for the Centennial Celebration.

Photo. Phil McMichael. "Department Chairs." Poster prepared by Sara Keene for the Centennial Celebration.

Photo. Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue. Department of Development Sociology website. <https://devsoc.cals.cornell.edu/people/parfait-eloundou-enyegue/>

Gantt Chart. Department Faculty 2000-2016. Dates compiled by author from multiple sources, including CALS annual reports and faculty vitas.

Warren Hall

Photo. Exterior of Warren Hall. Photo taken by author. September 2015.

Photo of Department Faculty. Stanton, Bernard F. 2001. *Agricultural Economics at Cornell: A History, 1900-1990*. Cornell University: Ithaca, NY. P 95. <https://hdl.handle.net/1813/2094>

Collage:

Campus Map. Cropped section of <http://www.cornell.edu/about/maps/Cornell-campus-map-072213.pdf>

Photo. Academic Surge. Photo taken by author. September 2015.

Photo. "The Department's Front Door." Photo taken by author. September 2015.

Photo & Image Credits

Photo. “Faculty Office.” Photo taken by author. June 2018.

Photo. “Polson Seminar Room.” Photo taken by author. June 2018.

Photo. Interior of Warren Hall. Photo taken by author. September 2015.

Appendices

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Timeline of the Department

1915+

- 1915 – Albert R. Mann named first Professor of Rural Social Organization
- 1918 – Dwight Sanderson comes to Cornell to chair and start the Department
- 1919 – First year Department offers classes (5 courses, FTE of one instructor, 52 students)

1920s

- 1922 – First PhD awarded to E. L. [Ellis Lore] Kirkpatrick
- 1923 – First Master's degree awarded to Cass Ward Whitney
- 1923 – Dwight Sanderson elected Chair of newly established Rural Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association (ASA)

1930s

- 1930 – W. A. Anderson elected Chair of the Rural Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association (ASA)
- 1930 – Construction begins on Warren Hall, built specifically to house Departments of Rural Sociology and Agricultural Economics
- 1936 – Dwight Sanderson is part of the slate of those elected following the ASR rebellion in the American Sociological Association (ASA)
- 1937 – Mary Eva Duthie appointed chair of Extension Committee for the Rural Sociological Society
- 1938-1939 – Dwight Sanderson elected first President of Rural Sociological Society (RSS)
- 1938 – Dwight Sanderson elected President of the American Country Life Association (ACLA)
- 1939 – Leonard Cottrell leaves this Department to chair newly established Department of Sociology at Cornell
- 1939 – Department changes name from “Department of Rural Social Organization” to the “Department of Rural Sociology”

1940s

- 1942 – Dwight Sanderson elected President of the American Sociological Association (ASA)
- 1946 – W. A. Anderson elected President of the Rural Sociological Society (RSS)
- 1949 – 108 graduate degrees awarded since 1922 (52 PhDs and 56 Master's)

1950s

- 1950 – Robert Polson elected President of the Rural Sociological Society (RSS)
- 1957 – Olaf Larson elected President of the Rural Sociological Society (RSS)
- 1958 – Addition connecting Warren Hall and Mann Library is built

Timeline of the Department

1960s

- 1960 – Warren Hall gets automatic elevator
- 1965 – Department celebrates 50th anniversary
- 1965 – Undergraduate degree “fully organized” with 30-40 enrolled
- 1968 – Graduate field name changed from “Rural Sociology” to “Development Sociology”
- 1969 – Department receives “Mary Eva Duthie Award” from the Theater Association of New York State (TANYS)
- 1960-1969 – 118 Graduate degrees awarded (48 PhDs and 70 Master’s)

1970s

- 1970 – College changes name to College of Agriculture and Life Sciences (CALS)
- 1974 – Harold Capener elected President of the Rural Sociological Society (RSS)
- 1974 – First MPS (Master’s Professional Science) degree awarded to Kris Merschrod
- 1978 – Bernice Scott receives Award of Merit from the New York State Association of Cornell Cooperative Extension 4-H Educators
- 1970-1979 – 169 Graduate degrees awarded (73 PhDs, 83 Master’s, 13 MPS)

1980s

- 1980 – E. Dwight Sanderson Memorial Scholarship for undergraduate students established
- 1984 – Shelley Feldman is first woman hired into a tenure-track research/teaching position
- 1985 – Olaf Larson awarded Distinguished Rural Sociologist by the Rural Sociological Society (RSS)
- 1988 – Fred Buttel elected to Council of newly formed Agriculture, Food, and Human Values Society (AFHVS)
- 1989 – Demography faculty join the Department, and the Population and Development Program (PDP) established in the Department

1990s

- 1990 – CaRDI (Community and Rural Development Institute) is established
- 1990 – Fred Buttel elected President of the Rural Sociological Society (RSS)
- 1995 – Frank Young awarded Distinguished Rural Sociologist by the Rural Sociological Society (RSS)
- 1995 – Phil McMichael elected Chair of the Political Economy of the World-System Section of the American Sociological Association (ASA)
- 1996 – Tom Lyson becomes editor of *Rural Sociology*
- 1998 – Phil McMichael elected President of RC-40 (Sociology of Agriculture and Food Research Committee) of the International Sociological Association (ISA)

Timeline of the Department

2000 and Beyond

- 2000 – David Brown elected President of the Rural Sociological Society (RSS)
- 2000 – Department establishes the Taietz Award for the outstanding graduate student paper
- 2000 – Tom Lyson receives Award for Excellence in Research from the Rural Sociological Society (RSS)
- 2001 – Polson Institute for Global Development established in Department
- 2001 – Mary Kritz elected Secretary General and Treasurer of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP)
- 2003 – Department changes name from “Rural Sociology” to “Development Sociology”
- 2004 – Max Pfeffer joins the Editorial Advisory Board for Research in Rural Sociology and Development
- 2006 – Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue awarded CALS Innovative Teacher Award
- 2006 – Rural Visions Project at CaRDI receives the Senator Patricia M. McGee Award of the New York State Association for Rural Health
- 2008 – Gilbert W. Gillespie Jr., elected President of the Agriculture, Food, and Human Values Society (AFHVS)
- 2008 – Shelley Feldman elected President of the American Institute of Bangladesh Studies (AIBS)
- 2010 – Fouad Makki awarded Young Faculty Teaching Award at Cornell
- 2011 – “Sociology of Development” becomes section within the American Sociological Association (ASA)
- 2011 – Warren Hall renovation begins. Department offices housed for three years in trailers called “Academic Surge”
- 2012 – Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue joins Board of Population Reference Bureau
- 2012 – Mary Jo Dudley named one of 10 Cesar Chavez Champions of Change
- 2014 – David Brown elected Chair of the Development Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association (ASA)
- 2015 – Mary Jo Dudley receives the George D. Levy Engaged Teaching and Research Award
- 2015 – Rural Sociological Society (RSS) renames Graduate Student Paper Award to honor Olaf F. Larson
- 2015 – Alaka Basu joins Board of Population Reference Bureau
- 2015 – Warren Hall reopens
- 2015 – Department celebrates its Centennial anniversary on September 25-26

Department Chairs



Albert R. Mann
Professor of Rural Social Organization
1915



Dwight Sanderson
1918-1943



W. A. Anderson
1943-1945 (acting)

Department Chairs



Leonard S. Cottrell
1945-1948



Robert A. Polson
1948-1950 (acting)
1950-1957



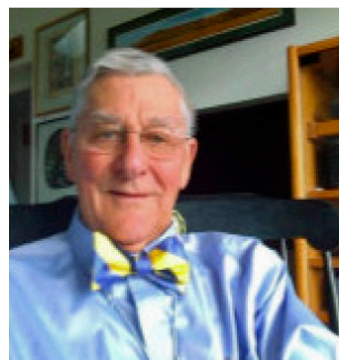
Olaf F. Larson
1957-1966



Harold Capener
1966-1976

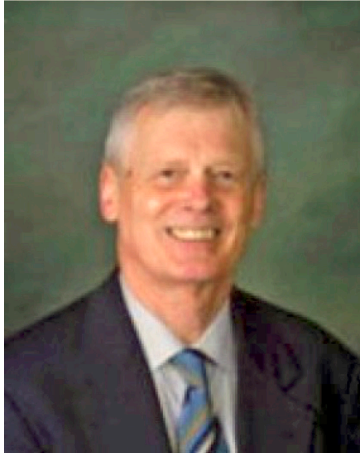


Walt Coward
1976-1979



Eugene Erickson
1979-1989

Department Chairs



Dudley Poston
1989-1992



Max Pfeffer
2006-2010



David Brown
1993-1998
2010-2014



Philip McMichael
1999-2005
2014-2015

Photographs are from the poster prepared by Sara Keene for the Centennial Celebration of the Department of Development Sociology

Leadership Roles



Presidents: Dwight Sanderson, W.A. Anderson, Robert Polson, Olaf Larson, Harold Capener, Harry Schwarzweller, Cornelia Flora, Frederick Buttel, James Zuiches, Jan Flora, Lawrence Busch, William Lacy, David Brown, Daniel Lichter, Conner Bailey, JoAnn Jaffe

Vice Presidents: Gene Erickson, Harold Kaufman (In addition, 11 Cornellians who served as RSS president also served as Vice President)

Editor, Rural Sociology: Tom Lyson



American Sociological Association

Presidents: Leonard Cottrell and Dwight Sanderson

Section Chairs: Philip McMichael (Political Economy of the World System); Fred Buttel (Environment and Technology); David Brown (Development Sociology)



International Sociological Association

President, Research Committee 40 (Sociology of Agriculture & Food): Philip McMichael



President: Shelley Feldman

AFHVS

Agriculture and Human Values Society

Presidents: Gilbert Gillespie, Fred Buttel



American Association for the Advancement of Science

Fellow: Fred Buttel



Secretary-General and Treasurer: Mary Kritz

Chair, Committee on Anthropology and Demography: Alaka Basu



Population Reference Bureau

Board of Directors: Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue




Board of Directors: Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue



International Migration Review

Editor: Douglas Gurak


Leadership Roles



Eloundou-t

Cornell University

Graduate School
Associate Dean: Shelley Feldman,
Feminist, Gender and Sexuality Studies
Director: Shelley Feldman
Biology and Society Program
Directors: Fred Buttel, Douglas Gurak
University Ombudsman
Eugene Erickson
Atkinson Center for Sustainable Future
Associate Director: Wendy Wolford
Center for the Environment
Acting Director: Max Pfeffer
Einaudi Center Programs
Latin American Studies: Joe Stycos
South Asia Program: Alaka Basu and Shelley Feldman
International Political Economy: Philip McMichael
Cornell Population Center
Associate Directors: David Brown, Parfait Eloundou-
Enyegue
Directors of Graduate Studies: David Brown, Lindy
Williams



Editor: Douglas Gurak

Senior Associate Dean: Max Pfeffer

CALS Faculty Senate: Max Pfeffer

Cornell Agriculture Experiment Station: David Brown

Director of International Agriculture: Walter Coward

Please Note: This is likely an incomplete list. We value all of our faculty's service, and welcome any revisions or additions to this list prior to archival at Kroch Library.

Images are from the poster prepared by Sara Keene for the Centennial Celebration of the Department of Development Sociology

Evolution of the Department

No history can be complete without recognizing the enormous work Gene Erickson has done over the years to recount, communicate, and preserve the history of the Department. Over the many years, Gene wrote and included aspects of the Department's history in many of the documents produced by the Department. In 1987, Gene composed the chapter on the Department for the 100th anniversary of the Hatch Act at Cornell. In 2012, he conducted and produced a video of his interview with Olaf Larson. Even now, Gene is working with the Cornell University Archivist to ensure that the Department's history has an online presence, including the video of his 2015 interview with Frank Young (<https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/42408>) and videos of the panels at the Department's Centennial Symposium (<https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/43773>).

Below is a reprint of Gene's essay on the Department's history that was part of Cornell's celebration of the Hatch Act's centennial (Erickson 1987). The resulting publication included histories and accomplishments of each department and program in the College. In his essay, Gene not only traces the Department from its beginnings, he also brings that history up into the late 1980s.

DEPARTMENT OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Evolution of the Department

Eugene C. Erickson

The Department of Rural Social Organization was established in October 1918, the first such department anywhere in the world. Albert R. Mann had been appointed to the first professorship in rural social organization in 1915 and almost immediately went to the University of Chicago for graduate work in sociology. He held the professorship in name only, however, because he was appointed dean of the college in 1916. Mann then called upon E. Dwight Sanderson, already well known for his research in entomology, to come to Cornell, to head the new department.

Over the years, about 85 persons have held professional appointments in the department. The original faculty of 5 has grown to number about 12 in recent years. All faculty members have appointments in at least two of the major functions of teaching, research, and extension. In addition, approximately 5 professional staff members are involved in specialized programs.

RESEARCH ACHIEVEMENTS

Possibly it was because the first chairperson came from the discipline of entomology and was trained in the Chicago School of Sociology that primary data collection has always been emphasized in our faculty research. The department has always been committed to the scientific study of rural society and to gathering information about current social issues.

During the first 20 years, rural sociology had to prove itself as a discipline. Early research dealt with the identification and functions of the small community farmer's standard of living, characteristics of the rural population, family relationships, rural youth, medical care, urban-rural migration, and part-time farming. Many of these same topics concern the observer of rural society in 1986. Paralleling these substantive interests was a recognition of the need for research using scientific methods of sociological analysis. The dual interests of establishing a discipline and being useful to the citizens of the state led the department to its present emphases. In the 1980s researchers have been facing the choice between the study of the organizations and institutions that people create and the people themselves. Increasingly they have chosen the former, arguing that the institutions that mankind creates set the limits for the development that can occur. In the 1970s an intellectual bifurcation occurred as the choices of research centered either on agriculture and natural resources (the farms, the farmers, the farm households, and agribusiness) or the community that forms the social system shaping rural life.

The Emphasis on Methods: The Emergence of Experimental Designs

From the department's origin in 1918 through World War II, Dwight Sanderson, Walfred Anderson, and Leonard Cottrell, Jr., were the main research staff, assisted by Robert Polson, whose appointment involved mainly



One Hundred Years
of Agricultural Research
at Cornell University

A Celebration of the Centennial
of the Hatch Act, 1887-1987

A publication of the Office for Research, College of Agriculture and Life
Sciences, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

extension, as did that of Mary Eva Duthie. This staff was reduced in 1939, when Cottrell was transferred to the College of Arts and Sciences to begin the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Also in 1939 the department was renamed Rural Sociology. Shortly after Sanderson died in 1943, Cottrell assumed the headship of both departments and kept the post until 1948, when he became dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.

The themes of research through World War II, as earlier, were the community, its organizations, and the families that constituted it, along with an emphasis on the methods of social analysis. In 1941, for example, Cottrell reported that his study of the family was the first to use a cross-section of the population. Similarly, a great deal of emphasis was placed on how to measure social attitudes. Extensive work went to developing scaling devices, many of them absolutely new creations. Many substantive questions were directed at issues of how rural society is different from urban society. The existence of social classes was documented and used as a predictor of attitudes regarding rural living. An annual report in 1927 announced plans for the first attempt at a systematic investigation of the social psychology of rural life to be conducted by a research institution. That research project was part of a long series of studies of leadership that has continued throughout the department's history.

In the late 1940s, new appointees Olaf Larson and Robin Williams, Jr., joined Leonard Cottrell, Jr., and Robert Polson in researching the reaction of certain communities to the extension service. The term "experimental design" began to appear in project descriptions. A new era had begun. Two achievements of the department were showing that it is possible to apply scientific methods to social observations and to conduct useful applied programs.

Research on Practical Issues

Although applied issues were always stressed, they took new form in more recent years. Significant studies dealt with the almost intractable problems of low income, women's lack of access to cooperatives, and the problems associated with growing old in rural areas. Following World War II, the desire arose to understand the situations confronting the disenfranchised, the disadvantaged, families living on submarginal land, and migrant laborers. Evaluations were made of the effectiveness of extension programs, satisfaction with 4-H leadership, reactions to community development efforts, and the adequacy of community services including health, education, and welfare. Mary Eva Duthie spent a lifetime promoting self-expression through rural theater. With her retirement, her position was broadened to include a program in leisure education conducted by Bernice M. Scott.

An applied emphasis burst forth in the 1970s, when the issues were consumer behavior, the results of Hurricane Agnes, paths out of poverty, and, increasingly, social aspects of nutrition issues. The usefulness of some of the department's recent work is nicely illustrated by a procedure called social impact assessment (SIA) that has been widely promoted by Charles Geisler. SIA has been applied to a number of proposed changes in American Indian communities, but it has application in almost any situation that is subject to widespread changes.

The International Scope of Research Interests

As early as 1929, Hashem Amir Ali, who was the ninth person to receive a Ph.D. in the department, wrote a thesis titled "Social Change in the Hyderabad State in India as Affected by the Influence of Western Culture." Since that time students from all over the world as well as many Americans have done fieldwork overseas and contributed their reports to our growing understanding of the developing world. These studies burgeoned in the 1950s. The dominant theme was the spread and impact of Western influence, which was later referred to as "modernization." This theme was to be found in many specific studies of the diffusion of modern farm practices, the nature of traditional society and the appearance of nontraditional forms of organization, and the role of community leadership and its interaction with government agencies. Many of these studies simply transplanted, with little adaptation, styles of research that were developed in the United States, but later studies were more appropriate to the foreign context. The comparative perspective implicit in all of this international work also improved. At first the comparison was implicit, and it was left to the reader to see the contrast between, for

example, life in an Indian village and life in upstate New York. The next step was to focus on the same topic in two countries, and after that researchers began to compare regions, communities, organizations, and farmers within the foreign country and on their own terms.

Sociology of Agriculture

Faculty attention has focused on the different themes of agriculture and rural life, and community and rural society. In the early years interest in the community predominated. In the 1950s Olaf Larson and his colleagues devoted a major research effort to understanding the conditions of migratory farm labor. Results of this research were used by a number of agencies working to improve the living conditions of migrant families and to ease and improve the quality of the management of their lives and time. Beginning in the mid-1970s, there was a marked change as sociology of agriculture – a shorthand name given to a variety of research topics – gained in emphasis and extended the scope of analysis. Recent work on the study of irrigation systems has gained international renown. Studies by E. Walter Coward, Jr., and his students have shown conclusively that the social organization of complex technical programs has as great an effect on their success or failure as their mechanical and technical elegance. Similarly, as one looks at agriculture in a state, a region, or the nation, rather than at the farm as a firm, the nature of the firm, and the economic contribution of the firm to the community, the forms of labor allocation become issues of extraordinary interest.

Research in private and public laboratories on biotechnology has already proven to have extraordinary relevance to our daily lives. Economists have explored the ways in which these technologies are likely to affect individual farmers. The work of Fred Buttel and others has identified sociological implications for policy makers, and particularly for those involved in food production strategies outside the United States.

Another significant research area concerns the contribution of women to the agricultural system in general and to farm production in particular. Interdisciplinary research on the topic of farm family decision making – much of it focused on the women in the household – involving Harold Capener, Gould Colman, and Arthur Bratton was begun in 1968. In the 1980s this work has been extended into other cultures and societies. A concern for the roles of women, children, and all other family laborers is evidenced in farming-systems research, an approach that is expected to account for numerous interconnected elements of change that can affect the farm.

Community, Social, and Regional Change

The decade of the depression, the shifts in industrial locations that accompanied World War II, and the expansion of a mass, urban, industrial society in the 1950s had a dramatic, multifaceted effect on rural communities. They began to look, appear, and be more like their urban counterparts, raising the issue of what was the best institutional structure for providing community services. Numerous research projects dealing with the provision of community services, rural development, decision-making in economic development, and so on documented the significant interrelationship between rural and urban places, and stressed that rural areas are not immune to urban difficulties.

Another important research subject has been the social structures that set the forms and limits of development and change. Frank W. Young and Ruth C. Young developed a methodology called macrosocial accounting, which has, it is argued, great adaptability and is therefore particularly well-suited for international research, an area in which obtaining reliable data is notoriously difficult. Other methodologies grew out of studies of technological change in the Philippines, issues of how to measure modernization in Mexico, and the transformation of rural Italy.

A New Era in the Study of Agriculture and the Community

About 1975, a new bifurcation developed within the subject matter of rural sociology. Instead of the general and somewhat amorphous perspective on rural society that had served until this time, it was now proposed

to separate out the sociology of agriculture and natural resources. It was argued that this was a more heuristic starting point for rural studies because it focused on the organization of production that is fundamental in the rural sector and could also be linked to government policies and even to international trade. Imperfections in the social, economic, and political systems were also associated with increased inequality and landlessness in rural areas. The new sociology of agriculture and natural resources was consistent with shifts in U.S. policy toward developing countries, which now emphasized production, especially with green revolution technology, instead of the community development perspectives of a decade or two earlier. Researchers in community studies were busy demonstrating that communities formed hierarchies and were linked to urban centers in ways that created a “backbone” for the nation. Regions were found to be both administratively and ecologically significant in their own right, and they could be studied by newly developed sources of data and techniques. Thus although the department was still studying community and agriculture, the perspective and methodology shifted sharply after 1975. Each wing of this intellectual bifurcation differed with respect to the primacy of the organization of production, but both agree that the understanding of rural poverty and its eradication are fundamental aims of rural sociology.

Relations with the Parent Discipline

Throughout the years there has been a steady stream of contacts with sectors of the discipline of sociology. Philip Taietz’s work in gerontology is known around the world. Others have worked on political sociology, the family, occupations, small groups, and stratification.

IMPACT OF THE DEPARTMENT

Three members of the Department of Rural Sociology, E. Dwight Sanderson, Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., and Robin M. Williams, Jr., have served as president of the American Sociological Association. E. Dwight Sanderson was the first president of the Rural Sociological Society. He has been followed in the post by Walfred A. Anderson, Robert A. Polson, Olaf F. Larson, and Harold R. Capener.

Since our first student, Ellis Kirkpatrick, received a Ph.D. degree in 1922, there were, through 1985, 575 Ph.D.’s and Master’s degrees awarded. These students live all over the world, working in educational institutions and in private and government service. The balance between the basic and the applied, the academic and the real worlds, emerges again in the products of the department.

The department has had an impact on other departments, on public programs, and on agencies of the state government. One of Sanderson’s research themes was the organization of the central school districts, and out of this idea came New York’s Boards of Cooperative Educational Services. Similarly, members of the department have participated in farm labor programs, in community resource development efforts, in developing low-income service projects, and in regional planning programs. Since 1970 the interface of agriculture, technology, and the social context of change has been the main interest of numerous faculty and staff. No department stands alone in these efforts, and it is through the interaction of their members that improvement in the quality and effectiveness of the Agricultural Experiment Station, as well as the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, is possible.

Department of Development Sociology

March 2016

<https://devsoc.cals.cornell.edu/people/>

Professorial Faculty



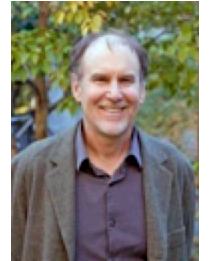
Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue
Professor
Chair



Philip McMichael
Professor
Previous Chair



Angela Gonzales
Associate Professor
Director of Undergraduate Studies



Tom Hirschl
Professor
Director of
Graduate Studies



Alaka Basu
Professor



Jenny Goldstein
Assistant Professor



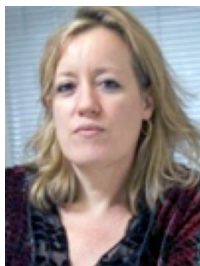
Scott Peters
Professor



Lindy Williams
Professor



Rachel Bezner Kerr
Associate Professor



Lori Leonard
Associate Professor



Max Pfeffer
Professor



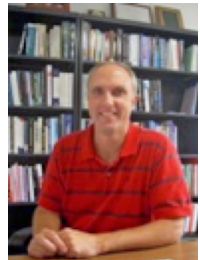
Wendy Wolford
Professor



David Brown
Professor



Fouad Makki
Associate Professor



John Sipple
Associate Professor



John Zinda
Assistant Professor

Associate, Research, and Extension Faculty



Robin Blakely Armitage
Senior Extension Associate



Nina Glasgow
Senior Research Associate



Thomas E. Marzeski
Deputy Director
Rural Schools Program



Allison Chatrchyan
Senior Research Associate



Paula Horrigan
Director Rust-2-Green
Associate Professor



Heidi Mouillesseaux-Kunzman
Senior Extension Associate



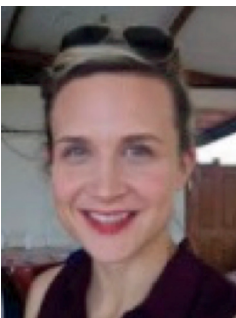
Mary Jo Dudley
Senior Extension Associate
Director, Cornell Farmworkers Program



David Kay
Senior Extension Associate



Larry Van De Valk
Senior Extension Associate



Sarah Giroux
Lecturer



David A. Little
Executive Director
Rural Schools Association

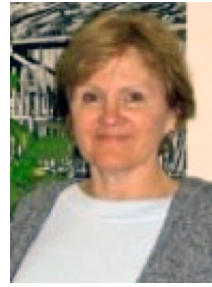
Administration and Staff



Allison Barrett
Graduate Field Coordinator



Christi Diamond
Administrative Manager



Susan Barry Smith
Program Coordinator



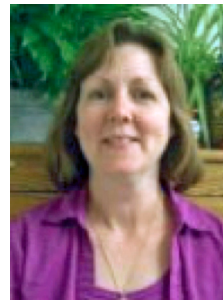
Linda Warner
Administrative
Assistant



Terri Denman
Program Coordinator
LEAD New York



Natalie Mitchell
Rural Schools Association
Administrative Assistant



Cindy Twardokus
Chair's Assistant

Emeriti Faculty



Paul Eberts*



Joe Francis



Charles Geisler



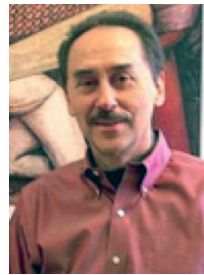
Jim Preston



Eugene Erickson*



Shelley Feldman*



Douglas Gurak



J. Mayone Stycos



Olaf Larson



Frank Young*

* Photos from other sources

Graduate Field Faculty in Other Departments



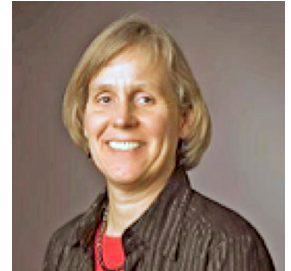
Eli Friedman
Department of International
and Comparative Labor



Dan Lichter
Department of Policy
Analysis and Management



Jeffrey Sobal
Division of Nutritional
Sciences



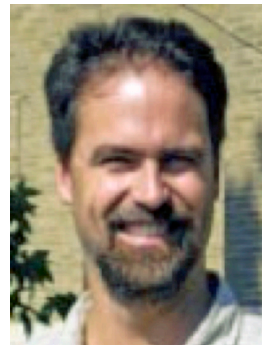
Mildred Warner
Department of
City & Regional Planning



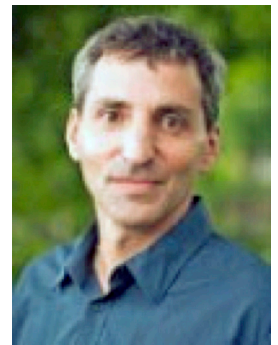
Matthew Hall
Department of Policy
Analysis and Management



Sharon Sassler
Department of Policy
Analysis and Management



Richard Stedman
Department of Natural
Resources



Steven Wolf
Department of Natural
Resources

Department Administrative Staff, 2015



Terri Denman



Susan Smith



Cindy Twardokus



Linda Warner

Administrative Staff

Business Administrators

Gordon Huckle
1967-1988

Nancy Winch
1979-2002

Pat Avrey
1991-1997

Terri Denman
1998-Present

Chair's Assistants

Nancy Pierce
1990-1999

Beverly Munson
1999-2002

Renee Hoffman
2003-2011

Cindy Twardokus
2011-Present

Program Coordinators

Ann Prince
2007-2010

Susan Barry Smith
2010-Present

Graduate Field Assistants

Tracy Aagard
1988-2011

Laurie Johnson
2011-2015

Administrative Assistants

Department

2003-Present Linda Warner
1996-2002 Beverly Wells
1974-2002 Brenda Creeley
1988-1999 Letha Padgett
1978-1995 Betty Van Amburg
1999-1999 Julie Pratt
1999-2012 Mary Jordan

Polson Institute

2001-2006 Mary Wright

CaRDI

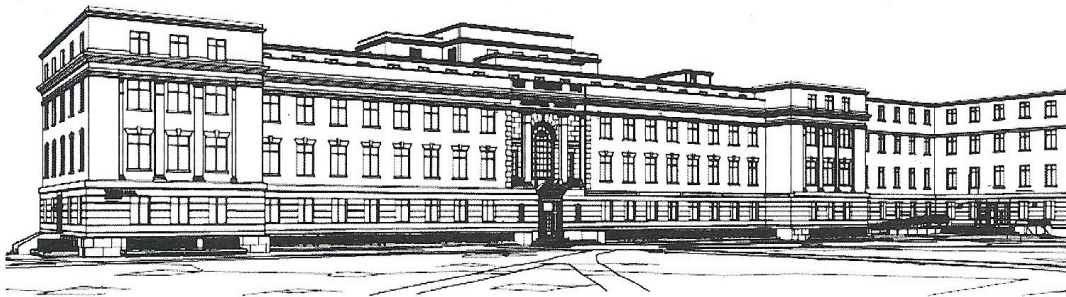
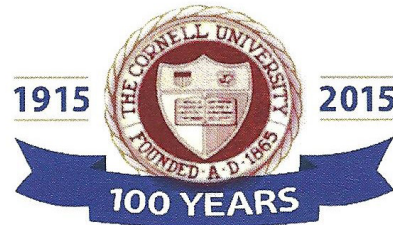
2000-2007 Sylvia Moravia

Population and Development Program

1998-2005 Josie Velez
1997-2000 Linda Pope

Images are from posters prepared by Sara Keene for the Centennial Celebration of the Department of Development Sociology

Cornell Development (Rural) Sociology



Celebrating 100 Years
of Research, Education and Outreach

September 25 – 26, 2015

Centennial Celebration

Friday, September 25, 2015

3:30 – 5:00 **100 Years of Scholarship in
Development Sociology at Cornell**

Julie Zimmerman, '97
B75 Warren Hall

Drawing on the monograph being written to honor the Centennial anniversary of Development (Rural) Sociology, this presentation will examine the theoretical and methodological approaches used in researching the historical development of the department and share some of the highlights from that history.

6:00 - **Welcome reception**
401 Warren Hall

Saturday, September 26, 2015 – 401 Warren Hall

Looking Back to Move Forward

10:00-10:30 Welcome from CALS Dean Kathryn Boor and Department Chair, Phil McMichael

10:30-12:00 *Development Challenges through a Sociological Lens* (David Brown, moderator)

- Amita Baviskar '92
- Hannah Wittman '05
- Gayatri Menon '09
- Marwan Khawaja '91
- Mildred Warner '97

12:00-1:30 catered lunch

1:30-3:00 *Thematic breakout groups*

- How do attendees address various development themes in their research, organizational programming, policy decision making, teaching, and which development themes are most salient?

3:15-4:45 *Possibilities for Transformational Change in the Next Century* (Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue, moderator)

- Ray Offenheiser '85
- Kai Schafft '03
- Claire Hinrichs '93
- Cornelia Flora '70
- Michelle Adato '96

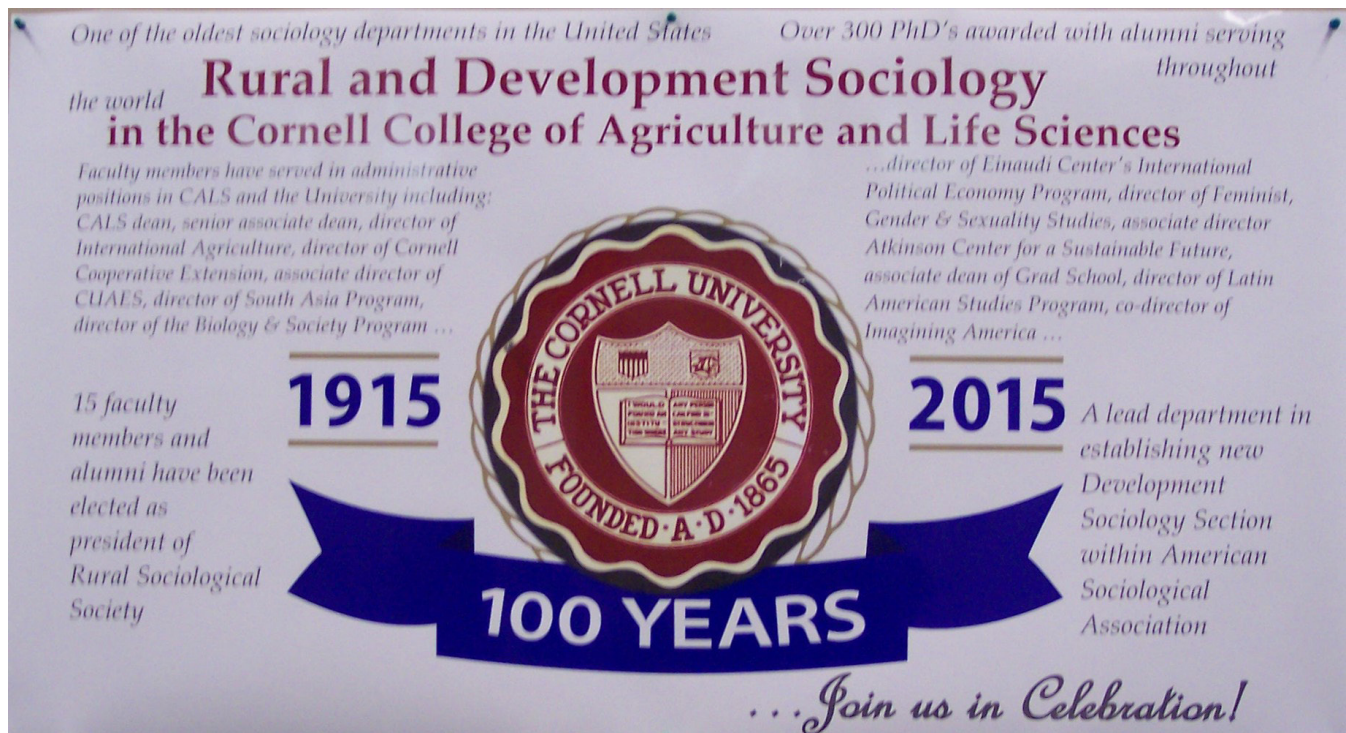
4:45-5:30 *Wrap up*

- Phil McMichael will make some summary observations and lead the audience in a discussion of emerging challenges and opportunities facing Development Sociology

7:30-? **Dinner dance**

[G-10 Biotech Building]

Development Sociology Centennial Symposium Videos <https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/43773>



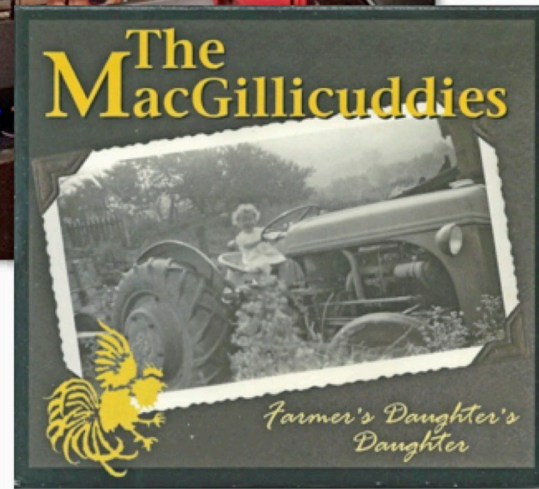
Banner displayed in the Department



Centennial Celebration



Centennial Celebration



Funding for this event was provided by
The Polson Institute for Global Development

Program Committee

David Brown, Chair
Kelly Dietz PhD 2010 (Ithaca College)
Emme Edmunds
Gene Erickson
Thomas Hirschl
Sara Keene
Susan Barry Smith
Lindy Williams
Julie Zimmerman PhD 1997 (Univ. Kentucky)



Cornell University
Department of Development Sociology